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ART. I.—*Origin and Progress of the French Language.*

1. *Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours.* Par M. RAYNOUARD.
2. *Second Mémoire sur l'Origine et les Revolutions de la Langue Françoise.* Par M. DUCLOS. [In Vol. XVII. of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.]
3. *Les Poètes François depuis le* XII. *Siècle jusqu' à Malherbe.*

It is our intention in the present article to give our readers some account of the origin and progress of the French Language; 'a tongue most dear unto thee,' as the Ecclesiastical historian Howel says, 'if thou beest not a Pedant, a mere Englishman, art a traveller, and hast any thing in thee of good breeding.' The works, whose titles stand at the head of this article, are the sources from which we shall draw most of our facts and illustrations, in reference to the subject before us; and in order to execute our task the more efficiently, we shall commence with the earliest existing monuments of the ancient *Romance*, or *Roman Rustic* language, and by reference to literary documents of successive periods, trace the progress and improvement of the French down to the close of the sixteenth century, when, to use the quaint phraseology of an old writer, it had become *gente, propice, suffisante assez et du tout elegante pour exprimer de bonne foy tout ce que l'on sçauroit excogiter, soit en amours ou autrement.*

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The earliest inhabitants of Gaul, whose existence has become a matter of history, were the Celts. No well authenticated document of their language is now extant; and if any faint and imperfect vestiges of it have survived the lapse of time, they are to be looked for in the *Armoric*, or the dialect of the peasants of Brittany in France. It perished when Gaul passed under the Roman yoke; for it was always the policy of the Roman Government to lay the foundation of her empire broad and deep, by introducing her own language and laws among the nations she conquered. The Roman language established itself upon the ruins of the Celtic, as did the Roman Empire upon the wreck of Druidical rites and mysteries. The conquerors published their laws in Latin, and Academies and public schools were established in various parts of the kingdom, in which Latin, Greek and Rhetoric were taught, and prizes of eloquence awarded. When to these circumstances we add, that books, which go farther than any thing else in fixing and perpetuating a language, were wholly unknown among the Gauls, there seems to be nothing very remarkable in the rapid decline and final extinction of the Celtic. As it was never a written language, the Druids, who were the Priests and Lawgivers of the nations, caused their disciples to commit to memory certain verses containing their laws and religion; and it was in this way only, that they were handed down from age to age. Thus, having no bulwarks to protect it against the influx of a foreign language, the Celtic was soon swept away and at length swallowed up and lost amid the rapid fluctuations of the Latin and Tudesque. Latin then became the universal language of Gaul. It was not the elegant and nervous Roman of the Augustan age, for we know that the existence of the Latin language in its purity was limited to that century which elapsed from the days of the last Scipio Africanus to those of Augustus*. The Attic Nights of the Grammarian Aulus Gellius bear witness to the corruption of the Latin language at Rome; infinitely greater must have been its corruption in the wide-spread territories of the Roman Provinces. There it had become a rude and barbarous dialect, a kind of *sermo quotidianus et rusticus*, in which the conjugation of verbs, and the cases, genders and declensions of nouns were confused and

*Velleius Paterculus, speaking of Tully, says 'Delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari verum neminem possis, nisi aut ab illo visum, aut qui illum viderit.'

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lost. From this rough and mutilated trunk sprang the modern French.*

*The manner in which the modern languages were thus formed, by the mutilation of the Latin, and its union with the northern dialects, is sufficiently obvious. Some familiar illustrations may not, however, be entirely useless. The process may be seen in the manner in which the uneducated Indian speaks our own language, disregarding all grammatical rules, and confounding number with case. For example: *Why for you no telle me true? me kille you.* The same is observable in the language of the uneducated black. A further illustration may be found in the several *Creole* dialects of the West Indies. We extract the following specimen of the *Danish Creole*, spoken at St. Thomas, from the Encyclopædia Americana, Vol. IV. Art. Creole. It is from a translation of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John.

'Libi ben de na inni va hem, Kaba da libi ben de Kandera va somma. Kaba da Kandera de krini na dungru, ma dungru no ben teki da Kandera. Gado ben senni wan somma, dem Kali Johannes, dissi ben Komm va takki vo da Kandera, va dem somma Komm bribi na da Kandera. Hem sreti no da Kandera, ma a ben Komm va takki na somma va da Kandera.'

'In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light.'

The following illustration from the *French Creole* of Guadaloupe will be better understood. It is a stanza from a ballad of the country; and opposite we place a literal French translation, running nearly word for word.

'Filles qui ca couté garçon,
Yo ca tandé belle quichose,
Main yo pas jamé contant,
Jusqu' à tant yo renne yo bien folle.

Pauve piti manzè Zizi,
Mi guété, manzè Zizi,
Mi guété, manzè Zizi;
Li tini doulè, doulè, doulè,
Li tini doulè nan cœur li.'

'*Les* Filles qui écoutent *les* garçons,
Elles entendent *de* belles choses,
Mais elles *ne sont* jamais contentes,
Jusqu' à ce qu' ils les *aient* rendu bien folles.
Pauvre petite mademoiselle Zizi,
Regardez, mademoiselle Zizi,
Regardez, mademoiselle Zizi;
Elle tient douleur, douleur, douleur,
Elle tient douleur dans son cœur.'

It will be perceived that in the above extract the single particle *Yo* takes the place of *Elles*, *ils*, *les*; and *Li* is used for the personal pronoun *Elle* and the possessive pronoun *son*. This exhibits fully enough the manner in which words are changed, and number and case confounded. The following sentence will show how new words are introduced arbitrarily into a language, to express or enforce the speaker's meaning. '*Chauval à li tombé blacata; li tombé pouff; tête á li congné tingue.*' 'His horse fell down *blacata*.' a word used to express the clatter of a horse falling on a pavement. 'He himself fell *pouff*,' a word expressing the dull heavy sound of a person thrown from a horse; 'His head struck *tingue*;' this needs no explanation to the reader, who has ever had his heels tripped up unawares.

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Towards the middle of the fourth century, the Franks, after repeated inroads and ravages in the territories of the Gaul, obtained a firm foothold, and established themselves on the westward of the Rhine. From this point they gradually widened the circle of their territory until it reached the fertile borders of the Seine. In the last half of the succeeding century, the victorious arms of Clovis triumphed over Alaric the Visigoth, who had crossed the Pyrenees from Spain, and pillaged the luxuriant provinces of the South. Thus a large portion of the Gallic territory passed to the sceptre of the Franks; and the throne of the French monarchy was established. Instead of promulgating an entirely new code of laws, the Franks received in part those of the conquered people. These laws, as well as all public acts and documents were in Latin, and continued to be so for centuries, though the court language of the Franks was the *Franctheuch*, called also the *Théotique*, or *Tudesque*. The Latin was thus preserved in public records, and in the ceremonies of the church; whilst with the people it was daily losing ground, and becoming more and more corrupt. It gradually mingled with the dialects of the North, till at length a new vulgar dialect was formed, called the Romance Language, or the *Roman Rustic;* a name given to it, because the Latin words and idioms predominated in its composition, and because it was the language of the peasantry and the lower classes of society.*

* Ma i Popoli del Settentrione, i quali, sotto il generico nome di Goti, sin prima che Massimino occupasse l' Imperio, s'erano co' Romani in lega congiunti, essendosi poi col nome di *Franchi*, *Vandali*, *Unni*, e *Longobardi* ostilmente diffusi in amendue le Gallie, Cisalpina, e Trasalpina, e di poi nelle Spagne, questa Nazione *d' un sol labbro*, (a riserva forse degli Unni, riputati di origine Sarmatica, e perciò di Lingua Sclavonica, de Goffredo Guglielmo Leibnizio tenuti) cominciò a mettere tostamente in commerzio la novità, e la barbarie del proprio linguaggio. Ciò a poco a poco venne per tutto usurpando il luogo al dominante Idioma Romano, che usato era allora dagli abitanti di quelle Provincie, dove pose ella il piede, i quali si chiamavono in quel tempo Romani, civè di Lingua e di Legge Romana, talmente che così fatta favella perdette affatto il suo posto, e venne in gran parte altresì ad alterarsi, come che tuttavia no perdesse il suo nome.

'Questa Lingua Romana parendo però agli nomini di que' tempi più regolata, e più leggiadra della Gotica, Alanica, e Teotisca loro nativa, s' ingegnavano eglino di apprendere, e di ritenere; scegliando anche in essa di scrivere, la quale con lingua' Francogallica *Roman* appellarono.'

Quadrio; Della Storia, e della Ragione d'Ogni Poesia. T. VI. p. 289.

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In the days of Charlemagne, we find that the Latin had become obsolete with the great mass of the people. It no longer existed, save in statutes and contracts, in the homilies of pious fathers, in ghostly diptychs, and the legends of Saints. By a canon of the third Council of Tours, held in 813, one year before the death of Charlemagne, it was ordered, that the Bishops should select certain homilies of the Fathers to be read in the churches, and that they should cause them to be translated into the Roman Rustic and into Tudesque, in order that the people might understand them.*

Of the prevalence of the Roman Rustic in the eighth century, as the popular or *vulgar* language throughout the southern dominions of Charlemagne, that is, throughout the south of France, a part of Spain, and nearly all Italy, there is ample evidence. The Tudesque, however, continued to be the court language. In order to reduce it to fixed rules and principles, and to facilitate the acquisition of it, Charlemagne composed a grammar. With feelings of national pride he endeavored to improve and extend it, hoping that he might one day publish his laws and edicts in his own maternal tongue, and that it would become the language of his realm. In this he was disappointed. The people were better pleased with the accents of their own unpolished jargon, than with the still ruder dialect of the north; and thus the Roman Rustic grew stronger day by day, and at length succeeded in completely dethroning the Tudesque, as we shall show hereafter.

The most ancient monument of the Roman Rustic, now existing, is the *Serment de Louis le Germanique*. This document is an oath of defensive alliance between Louis of Germany and Charles the Bold of France, against the dangerous and ambitious projects of their elder brother Lothaire. It was made at Strasbourg in the year 842. We here give the original text in Roman Rustic, and place over against it the Latin interpretation, as cited by Mr. Bonamy in his memoir upon this subject.†

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* Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. T. 17. p. 173.

† See Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscript. et Belles Lettres. Tome 26. p. 638.

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'Pro Deu amor, et pro Christian poblo, et nostro commun Salvament, dist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai je cest meon fradre Karlo, et in adjudha er in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il imi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.'

'Pro Dei amore et pro Christiano poplo, et nostro communi salvamento, de ista die in abante in quantum Deus sapere et potire mî donat, sic salvaro ego eccistum meum fratrem Karlum, et in adjutum ero in quâque una causa sic quomodo homo per derectum suum fratrem salvare debet in hoc quid ille mî alterum sic faceret, et ab Lothario nullum placitum numquam prendero quod meo volle eccisti meo fratri Karlo in damno sit.'

'For the love of God and Christendom, and for our common safety, from this day forth, as much as God shall give me knowledge and power, I will protect my brother Charles, here present, and will aid him in every thing, (as a man in justice ought to protect his brother,) in which he would do the same for me; and I will make with Lothaire no compact, which of my own free will can injure my brother Charles, here present.'*

Such was the Roman Rustic as spoken in France during the first half of the ninth century. Toward the close of the same century, it became the court language of the King of Arles in Provence, and was called the Roman Provençal, or the *Langue d'Oc*. At a later period it was enriched and perfected by the poems of the Troubadours.†

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*The following is the old German version of this oath. It is taken from specimens of the *Althochdeutsche Sprache* given in a little work entitled '*Chrestomathie zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Poesie. Herausgegeben von Franz Budde.*'

'In Godes minna ind durch thes Christianes folches ind unser bêdhêrô gehaltniss, fon thesemo dage frammordes sô fram sô mir Got geuvizei indi maha furgibit, sô hald ich thesan minan bruodher, sosô man mit rehtà sinan bruodher scal, inthiu thaz êr mig sosoma duô, indi mit Luthêreni in nocheiniu thing ne geganga zhe minan uvillon imo ce scadhen uverhem.'

†Que cette langue d'*Oc* ou *Provençale* soit la même que l'ancienne langue *Romaine*, il ce peut clairement justifier par les serments qui sont dans Nitard." Cazeneuve.

One of the oaths here spoken of by Cazeneuve, we have given above.

'La langage *Romain* fut appelé la langue Provençale, non-seulement parce qu'il reçut moins d'alteration dans la *Provence* que dans les autres cantons de la France, mais encore parce que les Provençaux

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The oldest literary production in the Roman Rustic, and next to the *Serment de Louis*, the oldest monument of that language which has reached our day, is the Poëme sur Boece. The subject of this poem is the captivity of Boetius, and his imprisonment in Ticinium; and it contains some imitations of his celebrated work *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. It belongs to the eleventh century. The following extract will be sufficient to exhibit the state of the language at that time.*

'El Capitoli lendema, al dia clar,
Lai o solien las altras leis jutjar,
Lai veng lo reis sa felnia menar,
Lai fo Bœcis, e foren i soi par.
Le reis lo pres de felnia reptar;
Qu' el trametia los breus ultra la mar;
A obs los Grex Roma volia tradar.
Pero Boeci anc no venc e pesat;'

'To the Capitol on the next morning, in open day, where according to custom all causes were tried, came the King to carry forward his felony. There was Boetius, and there also were his peers.'

'The King began to accuse him of felony; that he had sent letters beyond the sea, and wished to betray Rome into the hands of the Grecks. Nevertheless this had never come into the mind of Boetius.'

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s' en servoient ordinairement dans leurs compositions.' Huet. De l' Origine des Romans.

'Quell' Idioma Romanzo, chiamato Provenzale, o Francesco, fralle quali due Lingue, *come che alcun divario allora fosse*, nientedimeno il nome di Provenzale si usava indifferentemente, come il Toscano per l' Italiano.' Quadrio. Storia d'Ogni Poesia, VI. p. 290.

See also the Histoire Littéraire d' Italie. Par P. L. Ginguené. *T. I. ch.* 111.—Crescimbeni. Ist. della Volg. Poes. T. I. p. 317.—Tiraboschi. Istoria della Poesia, Liv. I.

*This poem, in the text of the original manuscript, is not divided into lines. It stands thus;

'El capitol len dema al dia clar, lai o sol'ien, las altras leis iutiar lai veng loreis sa fel nia menár lai fo boecis eforen, i, sor par, loreis lo pres de felnia reptar, quel trametia. los breus ul tra la mar. a óbs los gréx roma uolia tradar. pero boece anc no uenc epesat. sál él enestánt. e ceudet sen saluar. lom. nol laiset a saluament annar.'

It will be observed, also, that no use is made of capital letters, except at the commencement of the stanza, and that no points are placed over the *i*'s.

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'Nos, e molz libres, o trobam legen.'
Dis o Boecis, e sso gran marriment
Quant e la carcer avia 'l cor dolent,
'Molt val lo bes que l' om fai e jovent
Com el es velz, qui pois lo soste;
Quan ve a l' ora qu'el corps li vai franen,
Per be qu' a fait deus a ssa part lo te.

'Nos de molz omnes nos o avem veut,
Om per veltat non a lo pel chanut;
O es eferms, o a afan agut.
Cellui vai be qui tra mal e jovent,
E, cum es velz, donc estai bonament;
Deus a mes e lui so chastiament;
Mas, quant es joves, et a onor molt grant,
Et evers deu no torna so talant,
Cum el es velz, vai s' onors descaptan;
Quant se reguarda, non a ne tan ne quant;
La pelz li rua, hec lo kap te tremblant.
Morir vobria, e es e gran masant.'

'We, in many books, find it written,' said Boetius in his great despair, when in prison his heart was heavy with grief, 'much availeth the good which a man doth in his youth, for when he is old it sustaineth him; when he cometh to that hour when his body beginneth to fail, for the good he hath done, God shall be with him.

'We in many men have seen this, that man hath not the hoary head through old age, but through infirmity and care. It is well with him who is acquainted with sorrow in his youth, and when he is old, it is well with him; for God hath taught him divine wisdom. But when he is young and hath great honor, and placeth not his affections upon God, when he becometh old, his honors shall decrease; he shall look upon himself, and find that he has nothing left; his skin shall be wrinkled, and his head shall tremble; he shall call on death, and be in great dismay.'

Next in order, as productions of modern literature and specimens of the Roman Rustic, come the religious poems and other devotional writings of the Waldensians. From one of these, the Noble Lesson, *La Noble Leyçon*, Voltaire makes an extract, as a specimen of the Provençal Language. But the dialect in which these ancient poems were composed, was most certainly not the court dialect of Arles. Still there seems to be no greater difference between them, than that which always exists between the court language of a country, and the lan-

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guage spoken in towns and villages, more or less remote from the capital.*

The same remark is true of the prose extract which follows. It is drawn from the Tenth Article of 'The Ancient Discipline of the Evangelical churches in the valleys of Piemont,' as given in Morland's History.† The article is upon dancing, or balls; and is a curious specimen of the severity of the Waldensian discipline and morality in an age of licentiousness.

'Lo Bal es la procession del Diavol, et qui intra al Bal intra en la soa procession. Del Bal lo Diavol es la guia, lo mez et la fin. Tanti pas quant l'home fay al Bal, tanti saut vay en enfer. Al Bal si pecca en moltas manieras. En anar, car tuit li pas son nombra; en tocar, en ornament, en auvir, en veser, en parlar, en cants, en mesconias, et en vanetas. Lo Bal no es autre que miseria, pecca et vaneta.

'A Ball is the Devil's procession, and whosoever entereth in there, entereth into his procession. The Devil is the leader, the middle and the end of the dance. So many paces as a man maketh in a ball, so many leaps he maketh towards Hell. They sin in dancing sundry ways. First in walking, for all their paces are numbered; in touching, in their ornaments, in hearing, in seeing, in speaking, in singing, in lies and vanities. A Ball is nothing but misery, sin and vanity.

'Dereço li ornament que portan las fennas al Bal son enaima coronas per plusiors victorias que lo Diavol a agu de li filli de Dio per lor. Car lo Diavol non a solament un glai en li Bal, ma tanti quanti y a de personas bellas et orna. Car la parola de la fenna es glai fogueiant. Donc lo es forment de temer lo luoc

'Besides, the ornaments which women wear in Balls are so many crowns for the several victories which the devil hath obtained by them over the children of God. For the Devil hath not only one sword in these Balls, but as many as there are handsome persons and well adorned. The tongue of a woman is a glittering sword.

* Speaking of the language in which the religious poems of the Waldensians are written, Mr. Raynouard observes:

'Quant à l'idiôme dans lequel elles sont écrites, on se convaincra que le dialecte vaudois est identiquement la langue romane; les légères modifications qu'on y remarque, quand on le compare à la langue des Troubadours, reçoivent des explications qui deviennent de nouvelles preuves de l'identité.' Raynouard. Poesies des Troubadours. Tome II. p. CXL.

† The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont. By Samuel Morland, Esq. Book I. chap. V. p. 88.

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alqual son vist tanti glai de l'ennemic, cum solament un de li glai de luy sia de esser forment temer. Encora fier aqui lo Diavol, cum lo glay emola, car las fennas non venon legierament en li Bal, si ellas non se polisson premierament, et se ornan, loqual poliment et ornament, es coma aymolar lo glai del Diavol, et la roa que se fay al Bal, es enaima una mola de Diavol, cum laqual el agusa lo seo glai.

'Car la plus fort armadura que lo Diavol aya son las fennas, laqual cosa es demonstra, car lo Diavol eslegic la fenna a decebre lo premier home. Et Balaam acer eslegic aquestas a degittar lo filli d'Israel.

'Lo Bal es la pompa et la messa del Diavol, et qui intra al Bal, intra en la soa pompa et en la soa messa. Car la fenna cantant al Bal es Prioressa del Diavol, et aquilli que respondon son Clercs, et aquilli quis son a regardar son li perrochian, et li son, et las calamelas son las campanas, et li joglar liqual sonan son menistre del Diavol. Car enaimar quand li porc son spars, et lo Pastor de lor en fay quialar un, aço que li autre auven sajostan. Enaimi lo Diavol fay cantar una fenna al Bal, o quiallar la calamella aço que tuit li seo porc, ço es, Balador sajostan.'

Therefore that place is much to be feared where the enemy hath so many swords, seeing that one of his swords is exceedingly to be dreaded. Moreover, the Devil in this place smiteth with a very sharp sword, for the women come not willingly to Balls without painting and adorning themselves, which paint and ornaments are like the whetting of the Devil's Sword, and the Ring which is made in Balls, is the Devil's grindstone, whereon he sharpens his sword.

'Now the strongest arms the Devil hath are Women, which thing is shown in that the Devil made choice of the woman to deceive the first man by. And Balaam made choice of them to reject the children of Israel.

'Balls are the pomp and the mass of the Devil, and whoso entereth into Balls, entereth into the Devil's pomp and mass. For the woman that singeth at the Ball is the Prioress of the Devil, and they that answer are Clerks, and they which look on are Parishioners, and the Cymbals and the Flutes are the Bells, and the musicians that play are the ministers of the Devil. For as when the swine are scattered abroad, and the swineherd maketh one to cry, straightway the others flock together to him; so the Devil causeth one woman to sing at the Ball, or *play on the Music*, so that all the swine, that is, the Dancers, may straightway draw together into a knot.'

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This ancient discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the valleys of Piemont was extracted by Morland 'out of divers authentic manuscripts, written in their own language several hundreds of years before either Calvin or Luther.' Leger, in his history of the Waldensian Churches, extracts the fourth article of this discipline, and assigns the date of the document to the year 1100.* These authorities sufficiently establish their claims to antiquity.

La Noble Leyçon, or Noble Lesson of the fathers of the Waldensian Church, we cannot pass over without notice. It is a kind of poetical homily, containing an abridgment of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testaments. It consists of about five hundred lines; and seems to have been composed in order to bring within the reach of the people, all the great points of faith contained in the Scriptures. Morland gives it entire; and Leger has made copious extracts. By collating several passages, a slight verbal difference is occasionally found between the two copies, which may doubtless be attributed to want of care in transcribing. As Leger observes that in making his extracts he has not *altered the least syllable*, we will avail ourselves of his copy. The poem commences as follows.

'O Frayres entendé una nobla Leyçon.
Souvènt devèn veglar e star en oreson,
Car nos veen aquest mont esser pres del chavon.
Mot curiòs deorian esser de bonas obras far,
Car nos veen aquest mont de la fin apropiar.
Benha mil & cent an compli entierement
Que fò scripta lòra; que sèn alderier temp.
Poc deorian cubitar; car sen al remanent.

'O Brethren, give ear to a noble Lesson.
We ought always to watch and pray,
For we see this world nigh to a conclusion.
We ought to strive to do good works,
Seeing that the end of this world approacheth.
There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished
Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time.*
We ought to covet little, for we are at the latter end.

*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises. Par Jean Leger. Chap. XI. p. 58.

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'Totiorn las enseignas venir à compliment.
En acreysament de mal & en amermament de bon
Ayço son li perilli que l'Escriptura dì
L'Avangeli ho recognta & Sant Paul o escri.
Que noun home que vira non pò saber la fin
En perço deven mays temer; car nos non sen certan
Si la mort nos penré en choy, o ben deman;
Ma cant venré Jesus al jorn del Jujamènt
Un çascun recebré per entier payamènt.
A quilli qu' aurèn fay mal e a quilli qu'auren fayt ben
Ma l'Escriptura di, e nos creyre ho devèn,
Que tuit li home del mont per dui chamin tenrèn,
Ly bon yren en gloria, li fellon en torment.
Ma aquel que non creyré en aquel departiment,
Regarde l'Escriptura del fin commençament.

* * * *

'Cant ven lo mal mortal, la mort lo costreng, e à pena pò parlar,
E demanda le Prevere sàl se vol confessor:
Mas segont l'Escriptura el ha tro torsà lacal commanda, e di

'We see daily the signs to be accomplished,
In the increase of evil and the decrease of good.
These are the perils which the Scripture mentioneth,
In the Gospels and Saint Paul's writings.
No man living can know the end.
And therefore we ought the more to fear, for we are not certain
Whether we shall die to day or to morrow.
But when Jesus comes at the day of Judgment
Each one shall receive his full reward,
Those that have done evil and those that have done good.
But the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it,
That the men of the world shall pass two ways.
The good to glory, and the wicked to torment.
And he that shall not believe this division
Let him search the Scriptures from the beginning.

* * * *

'When the stroke of death comes, when death seizes on him, and hardly can he speak,
The priest asketh if he will confess his sins;
But according to Scripture he hath delayed too long, for that commandeth us

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'San e vio te confessa, non attendre à la fin:
Lo Prever li demanda s'el ha nengun peccà,
Dui mot a trei li respont, e ha tost enavança:
Ben li di lo Prever qu' el non po esser assòt,
Sel non rent tot l' autruy e esmende ben sio tort.'

'To confess when we have yet time, and not wait till the end:
The priest asketh him if he hath any sin,
He answereth two or three words and soon hath done.
The priest tells him he cannot be forgiven
Unless he gives up all his worldly goods in recompense for his sins.'

These extracts will exhibit the state of the popular language in Piedmont at the commencement of the twelfth century. It does not seem to have possessed any great uniformity at that time, for we find the same word spelt in different ways in the course of the same piece. The same remark is true of all, or at least a great portion, of the literary productions of that age.

Before leaving the *Langue d'Oc*, we will make one extract from the poems of the Troubadours, in order to enable our readers to compare the language in which they were written with that of the previous extracts.

*Chanson Guerrière.**

'Be m play lo douz temps de pascor
Que fai fuelhas e flors venir;
E play mi quant aug la baudor
Dels auzels que fan retentir
Lor chan per le boscatge;
E play mi quan vey sus els pratz
Tendas e pavallos fermatz;

Battle Song.

'The beautiful Spring delights me well
When flowers and leaves are growing,
And it pleases my heart to hear the swell
Of the bird's sweet chorus flowing
In the echoing wood;
And I love to see all scattered around
Pavilions and tents on the martial ground;

*This very spirited song is by Bertrand de Born. The whole of the original is given by Raynouard, T. II. p. 210, and with a little variation in the text in the *Bibliothèque Choisie des Poètes François jusqu' à Malherbe.* T. I. p. 82. The translation is from Roscoe's English edition of Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe. Vol. I. p. 141.

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'E plai m 'en mon coratge
Quan vey per campanhas rengatz
Cavalliers ab cavals armatz.

'E play mi quan li corredor
Fan las gens e'ls avers fugir;
E plai me quan vey aprop lor
Gran ren d' armatz ensems brugir;
Et ai gran alegratge,
Quan vey fortz castelhs assetjaz
E murs fondre e derocatz,
E vey l'ost pel ribatge
Qu'es tot entorn claus de fossatz,
Ab lissas de fortz pals serratz.

* * * *

'Lansas e brans, elms de color,
Escutz trancar e desguarnir
Veyrem a l' intrar de l' estor
A manhs vassalhs ensems ferir.
Don anaran a ratge
Cavalhs dels mortz e dels nafratz;
E ja pus l' estorn er mesclatz,

'And my spirit finds it good
To see, on the level plain beyond,
Gay knights and steeds caparisoned.

'It pleases me, when the lancers bold
Set men and armies flying;
And it pleases me, too, to hear around
The voice of the soldiers crying;
And joy is mine
When castles strong besieged shake,
And walls uprooted totter and quake,
And I see the foemen join
On the moated shore, all compassed round
With palisade and guarded mound.

* * * *

'Lances, and swords, and stained helms
And shields dismantled and broken
On the verge of the bloody battle scene,
The field of wrath betoken;
And the vassals are there
And there fly the steeds of the dying and dead;
And where the mingled strife is spread,

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'Negus hom d'aut paratge
Non pens mas d' asclar caps e bratz,
Que mais val mortz que vius sobratz.
Je eus die que tan no m'a sabor
Manjars ni beure ni dormir,
Cum a quant aug cridar; A lor!
D' ambras las partz; et aug agnir
Cavals voitz per l'ombratge.
Et aug cridar; Aidatz! aidatz!
E vei cazer per los fossatz
Saucs e grans per l'erbatge,
E vei los mortz que pels ecstatz,
Au los tronsons outre passatz.'

* * *

'The noblest warrior's care
Is to cleave the foeman's limbs and head,
The conqueror more of the living than dead.
I tell you nothing my soul can cheer
In banqueting or reposing,
Like the onset cry of 'charge them!' rung
From each side as in battle closing;
Where the horses neigh,
And the call to 'Aid!' is echoing loud,
And there on the earth the lowly and proud
In the foss together lie;
And yonder is piled the mingled heap
Of the brave that scaled the trench's steep.'

* * *

By comparison it will be perceived that the difference between the Waldensian and the Provençal is very trifling, and confined almost entirely to the terminations of words. Take for example the second person plural of the imperative and the past participle, as these forms of the verb first present themselves to us in casting our eyes over the foregoing extracts. In the Waldensian you have *nombra*, &c. for the form of the participle, and *entendé*, &c. for that of the imperative. Corresponding inflections of the verb in Provençal are *fermatz*, &c.; *aidatz*, &c.

So much for the *Langue d'Oc*. At the present day it is generally classed among the dead languages; though some writers maintain, that the *patois* of the department of the *Bouches-du-Rhône*, and of other departments in the South of

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France is substantially the old Provençal language.* During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was in great repute not only in France, but in Spain and Italy; and every one who has made himself at all familiar with the structure of the Troubadour poetry, must be fully persuaded of the richness and flexibility of a language, which afforded such a redundancy of similar sounds, and was moulded into such a variety of form.

Whilst the Roman Rustic had been thus perfected in the South of France, in the provinces north of the Loire, it had gradually been transformed into a new dialect.† This change seems to have commenced from the close of the ninth century. Upon this subject, Cazeneuve writes thus; 'Yet this *Langue Romaine* underwent in a short time a notable change, for as languages generally follow the fortunes of States, and lose their purity as these decline, when the crown of Germany was separated from that of France, the court of our Kings was removed from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris; and as this city was situated near the frontier of the German territory, and consequently at a distance from the *Gaule Narbonnoise*, where the Roman Rustic, or *Langue Romaine*, was spoken, there was imperceptibly formed at the French court, and in the neighboring provinces, a *third* language, which still retained the name of *Romaine*, but in the course of time became totally different from the ancient *Langue Romaine*, which, however, remained in its purity in the provinces south of the Loire; and since the people north of the Loire expressed affirmation by the word *Oui*, and those south of it, by the word *Oc*, France was divided into the Land of the *Langue d'Oui*, or French, and the Land of the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal."‡ This northern ro-

*'On peut remarquer que la langue qu' on appelle Romaine est presque la même que celle que parlent encore aujourd' hui les peuples de Provence, de Languedoc, et de Gascogne.' Hist. Générale du Languedoc.

†'Il reste à savoir pourquoi ceste langue Romaine Rustique a été chassée outre Loire.

'Cette dernière séparation de Hue Capet fut cause, et, à mon advis, apporta un plus grand changement; voire, si j'ose le dire, *doubla la Langue Romande*.' Fauchet. Recueil de l'Orig. de la Lang. et Poés. Française. Liv.1. ch. 4.

‡The custom of naming a language from its affirmative particle was a general one. The Italian was called the *Langue de Si*, and the German, the *Langue de Ya*.

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mance dialect was also called the *Roman Wallon*, or Walloon Romance, from the appellation of *Waelches* or *Wallons*, given by the Germans to the inhabitants of the north of France.

This Roman Wallon soon ripened into a language, and at the commencement of the tenth century became the court dialect of William *Longue-Epée*, duke of Normandy. The most ancient monument of this language, now existing, is to be found in the laws of William the Conqueror, who died in the year 1087. From these laws we shall give one short extract, in order to show how far the Roman Wallon had already diverged from the Roman Rustic, in which the *Serment de Louis le Germanique* was written.

'Ce sont les leis et les custumes que li Reis William grantut à tut le peuple de Engleterre après le conquest de la terre. Ice les meismes que le Reis Edward sun cosin tint devant lui.

'These are the edicts and common law that King William granted to all the people of England after the conquest of the land. They are the same that King Edward his cousin held before him.

1°. *De Asylorum jure et immunitate Ecclesiasticâ.*

'Ce est à saveir; pais à Saint Eglise; de quel forfait que home out fait en cel tens; et il pout venir à Sainte Eglise, out pais de vie et de membre. E se alquons meist main en celui qui la mere Eglise requireit, se ceo fust u Abbaie, u Eglise de Religion, rendist ce que il javereit pris, et cent sols de forfait, e de mer Eglise de Parohsse XX sols, e de chappele X sols, et que enfraiant la pais le Rei in Merchenelæ, cent sols les amendes, altresi de Heinfare, e de arreit purpensed.'

'To wit: peace to the Holy Church: of whatever crime a man may be guilty in this time; and he shall take refuge in the Holy Church, he shall be safe in life and limb. And whoever shall lay hands on him who seeks aid from the mother Church, be it Abbey or Church of religious worship, shall restore what he has seized, and one hundred sous in forfeit, and to the mother parochial church XX sous, and to the chapel X sous: and whoever breaks the King's peace *in lege Merciorum*, shall pay a fine of a hundred sous, the same for homicide, and malice aforethought.'

After the reign of William the Conqueror, the Roman Wallon was called French. That monarch took a national pride in cultivating and improving the language of his native Normandy, and used every means in his power to establish it in

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England on the ruins of the Saxon. Even before the Norman conquest, the Saxon language had been falling into disuse, and the people of England had begun to grow ashamed of their rude northern dialect. It had long been the practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their children to the French monasteries for their education, and so essential to the character of a scholar, was the knowledge of the French language considered in the eleventh century, that the Bishop of Worcester was deposed as being 'a superannuated *English* idiot, who could not speak French.' Indeed, barbarous as the French then was, it was deemed polished and refined in comparison with the Saxon. It was taught in the schools, it was spoken at court, and the laws of the kingdom were promulgated in it. The following passage is quoted by Warton from Trevisa's translation of Hygden's Polychronicon, written, as the author himself tells us, *in the yere of oure Lorde a thousand three hundred and four score and five.* 'Children in schole, against the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire own language, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in French: and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engelond. Also gentlemen children beeth taught to speke Frensche from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradle, and kunneth speke and play with a childes broche: and uplondissche [country] men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth [delights] with great besynesse for to speke Frensche to be told of.'*

*See Warton's History of English Poetry, Vol. I. p. 5. In connexion with this subject, we cannot forbear citing the following exquisite little song on the approach of summer, which will serve as a specimen of the Norman Saxon at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It is from the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum; and is found in the additional notes to Warton's History, Vol. I. p. 32.

Sumer is i-cumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu;
Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
And springeth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu, cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth;
Murie sing, cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu;
Wel singes the cuccu;
Ne sirck thou nauer nu.
Sing cuccu nu,
Sing cuccu.

Summer is a-coming in,
Loud sing cuckow;
Groweth seed, and bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood now.
Sing cuckow, cuckow.

Ewe bleateth after lamb,
Loweth calf after cow;
Bullock starteth, buck departeth;
Merry sing, cuckow,
Cuckow, cuckow;
Well singeth the cuckow;
Nor cease to sing now.
Sing cuckow, now,
Sing cuckow.

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Having, in the extract from the laws of William the Conqueror, exhibited a specimen of the French language at the close of the eleventh century, at which time it ceased to be called the Roman Wallon, we will now advance a half century, and observe the progress made in its cultivation during that space of time. The following extract is from the sermons of Saint Bernard, the zealous Abbot of Clairvaux, whose impassioned eloquence was the most unrelenting and deadly scourge of heresy, and whose false prophecies were as effectual in filling the ranks of the Crusaders, as ever the preaching of Peter the Hermit had been. He died in 1153.

'Ci commencent li Sermon Saint Bernars kil fait de lavent et des altres festes parmei l' an.

'Nons faisons vi, chier freire, l'encommencement de l' avent cuy nom est asseiz renomeiz et connis al munde, si come sunt li nom des altres solempriteiz. Mais li raison del nom nen est mies par aventure si connë. Car li chaitif fil d' Adam n'en ont cure de vériteit, ne de celes choses ka lor salueteit appartienent, anz quierent icil les choses défaillans et trespessaules. A quel gent ferons nos semblans les homes de ceste génération, ou à quel gent ewerons nos ceos cui nos veons estre si ahers et si enracineiz ens terriens solas et ens corporiens, kil departir ne s'en puyent.'

'Here commence the Sermons of St. Bernard, that he made for Advent, and other festivals during the year.

'We here make, my dear brethren, a beginning of Advent, whose name is renowned and known enough throughout the world, as are the names of the other solemnities. But the reason of the name peradventure is no longer so well known. For the vile sons of Adam care not for the truth, nor for those things which appertain unto their salvation, rather seek they after things perishable and transitory. To what people shall we liken the men of this generation, or to what people shall we compare those whom we see so perverse and deeply rooted in worldly cares and the deeds of the body, that they cannot depart from them.'

This extract we must consider as a specimen of the best language of that age; for St. Bernard, an Abbot of the Church, and the friend, companion, and counsellor of kings, must certainly have been versed in the most refined language of his day. By comparing this extract with that given above from the edicts of William the Conqueror, we shall perceive that during an interval of upwards of fifty years the language had advanced hardly a single step. The only point in which the latter ex-

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tract excels the former, is a little greater roundness and harmony of periods, and a greater continuity of style.

Half a century later flourished Ville-Hardouin, the earliest of the French historians. In the year 1207, he finished his History of the Conquest of Constantinople, by the French and Venetians. An extract from his writings will enable the reader to observe the advance of the language during the lapse of about fifty years.

'Sachiés que 1198 ans après e' Incarnation notre Sengnor J. C. al tens Innocent III, Apostoille de Rome, et Filippe, Roy de France, et Richart Roy d' Engleterre, et un sainct home en France, qui et nom Folque de Nuilli: Cil Nuillis siest entre Lagny sor Marne et Paris: et il ere Prestre et tenoit la parroiche de la Ville: et cil Folques dont je vous di comença à parler de Dieu par France, et par les autres terres entor; et notre Sires fist maint miracles por lui. Sachiés que la renomée de cil saint home alla tant, qu'elle vint à l' Apostoille de Rome Innocent: et l' Apostoille envoya en France et manda al prodome qui il empreschast des Croix par s' autorité: et après il envoya un suen Chardonal maistre Perron de Chappes Croisié: et manda par luy le pardon tel come vos dirai. Tuit cil qui se croisseroient et feroient le service Deu un an en l' ost, seroient quittes de toz les pechiez que ilz avoient faiz, dont ils seroient confés. Por ce que cil pardons fu issi gran, si s' en esmeurent mult li cuers des guenz, et mult s' en croisierent, por ce que li pardons ere si gran.'

'Know that 1198 years after the Incarnation of our Lord J. C. in the time of Innocent III, Apostle of the Holy See, and Philip King of France, and Richard King of England, there was a holy man in France, whose name was Folque of Neuilly: This Neuilly lies between Lagny-sur-Marne and Paris: and he was a Priest, and held the parish of the town, and this Folque, of whom I speak, began to discourse of God through France and the neighboring lands, and the Lord did many miracles by him. Know that the fame of this holy man was so spread abroad, that it reached the ears of Pope Innocent of Rome; and the Pope sent to France, and wrote the good man word to preach the Crusades by his authority: and afterwards he sent one of his Cardinals, Messire Perron de Chappes Crusader, and wrote by him a pardon, such as I will now tell you. All who should join the crusade, and serve God one year in the East, should be pardoned all the sins they had committed, and had confessed. And because this pardon was so great, the hearts of the people were much moved at it,—and many engaged in the crusades, so great was this pardon.'

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In comparing this extract with that drawn from the sermons of St. Bernard, we shall perceive that the language had been rapidly gaining ground; for though still rude and unpolished, it was evidently beginning to assume a more graceful form and easy carriage, than it had possessed at any previous time.

For these prose illustrations of the progress of the French language, we are indebted to the valuable essay of M. Duclos, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres. T.* 17. We shall now take our leave of him; for although, as he observes, prose is a better medium through which to trace the progress of a language than poetry, yet as we are writing for the general reader rather than for the academician or philologer, we shall endeavor to make our article the more interesting, by confining ourselves hereafter more exclusively to poetic illustrations.

Before proceeding to an examination of the progress of the French language in the thirteenth century, we shall lay before our readers a piece, which will enable them to compare together five of the dialects spoken in the south of Europe, at the close of the twelfth century, and to observe how far these sister branches of one parent stock had diverged from each other. It is a *Descort* of the Troubadour Rambaut de Vaqueiras, who flourished in the days of Ville-Hardouin. The first stanza is written in Provençal; the second in Italian; the third in French; the fourth in Gascon; and the fifth in Spanish. Finally, he brings together these five dialects, giving a couplet of each, in the order pursued in the poem. The lady whom he addresses in the *Envoi*, under the appellation of *Bels Cavaliers*, was Beatrix de Montferrat, sister of the Marquis de Montferrat, the friend and patron of the poet.*

* A singular little incident is told concerning the intrigues of Vaqueiras and Beatrix. The Marquis de Montferrat, having discovered the Troubadour asleep in his sister's bedchamber, took away his cloak, leaving his own in its place. When Vaqueiras awoke, he was surprised but not disconcerted, at having his intrigues thus discovered by the Marquis. The only difficulty was to make his peace with Montferrat. To effect this, he chose the moment when the Marquis was surrounded by a numerous company of lords and ladies, and carrying his cloak to him, as if he had made use of it without permission, conjured him to pardon *the liberty he had taken.* This presence of mind in the Troubadour so delighted Montferrat, that he was immediately reinstated in his patron's favor.

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DESCORT.*—PROVENCAL.

'Aras quan vey verdeyar
Pratz e vergiers e boscatges,
Veulh un descort comensar
D'amor per que vauc aratges
C'una dona m sol amar,
Mas camiatz lés son coratges;
Per qu' ien fauc dezacordar
Los motz els sos els lengatges.'

'When I see the sylvan sheen
Of orchard, wood, and meadow green,
Then to the discordant string
The vassalage of love I sing.
She who listen'd to my vow,
Neither heeds nor hears it now,
Hence it is discordant all,
Language, rhyme and music fall.'

ITALIAN.

'Jeu sui selh que be non ayo,
Ni enqueras non l' avero,
Per abrilo ni per mayo,
Si per ma dona no l' o
Et entendo son lenguaio;
Sa gran beutat dire no so,
Plus fresca es que flor de glaio,
E ia no m'en partiro.'

'My joys are gone, and thus forgot,
Sunny April shall bring them not,
Nor merry May shall them restore,
Till *her* voice says, "weep no more."
Never tongue her charms may sing,
Fresher than the flowers of Spring;
Never shall my footsteps stray,
From that opening flower away.'

FRENCH.

'Belha doussa Dama chera,
A vos mi don e m' autroy,

* This Descort of Vaqueiras is extracted from the Remarques sur la Langue Françoise du XII. et XIII. Siècles: etc Par. M. de la Curne de St. Palaye. See Mém. de l'Académie. T. XXIV. It is given also by Raynouard. T. II. p. 226.

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Ja n'aurai mes joy entera,
Se no vos ai e vos moi.
Molt estes mala guereya,
Se ya muer per bona foy,
Mas per nulha maniera
No m partrai de vosta loy.'

'Lady, fair, and good, and bright,
Thus I yield myself to thee;
Never, till our hearts unite,
Perfect joy shall dwell with me.
Cruel foe indeed wert thou,
Should I perish for thy sake;
Yet my heart shall never break
The golden chain that binds it now.'

GASCON.

'Dauna io me rent a bos,
Guar eras m'es bon e bera;
Anc se es guallard' e pros,
Ab que no'm fossetz ton fera,
Mout abetz beras faissos,
Ab color fresqu' e novera,
Bos m' abetz e si eu'bs ag os;
No'm sofranhera fiera.'

'Thou art good to me and true, Ladie;
Therefore yield I all to thee.
Thou wert gay and gentle too, Ladie,
But for former cruelty.
All thy ways are frank and free,
Fresh and blooming is thy cheek,
Give thyself to love and me,
I no other wealth will seek.'

SPANISH.

'Mas tan temo vostre pleito,
Todon soi escarmentado.
Per vos ai pen e maltreito,
E mon corpo lazerado.
La nueit quan jatz e mon leito,
Soi mochatz ves resperado;
Pro vos cre e non proferto,
Falhit soy en mey cuidado,
Mais que falhir non cuideyo.'

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'But I fear thine angry brow,
And I tremble even now.
I have suffer'd pain and care,
Many wounds for thee I bear,
And many a time from troubled sleep,
At midnight hour I wake and weep;
I adore thee, but in vain,
Deceived by thee my joy is pain,
And hope falls back to earth again.'

ENVOI.

PROVENCAL, ITALIAN, FRENCH, GASCON, SPANISH.

'Bels Cavaliers, tant es cars
Lo vostr onratz senhoratges,
Que cada jorn m'esglayo,
Ho me lasso que faro;
Si sely que g'ey plus chera,
Me tua, no sai por quoy.
Ma dauna fe que dey bos,
Ni pe l cap sanhta Quitera,
Mon corass m'avetz trayto,
E mout gen faulan furtado.'

'Bel Cavalier! so dear to me
Is thy noble seignorie,
Returning daylight but reveals
The anguish which my bosom feels,
That thou, the most beloved of all,
Thus should triumph in my fall.
Ladie! by all the tears I've shed,
By Saint Quitera's holy head,
Thou hast this poor heart beguiled,
With thy voice so soft and mild.'

By comparing together the several strophes of Vaqueiras's Descort, it will be easy to perceive the common origin of these languages, and the little difference which existed between them even down to the beginning of the thirteenth century. We find in all of them the same words, and the same forms of expression. Even the nations by whom these languages were spoken, seem at that period to have composed but one great people. National peculiarities, though existing, had not been developed and brought forward; nor had peculiar feelings, and manners, and institutions, given a national air and countenance to language.

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We now come to the thirteenth century. As we advance, the improvement of the French language becomes more and more apparent. Still its progress does not appear to have been so rapid, as we might be justified in supposing it ought to have been, when we take into consideration the literary history of that period. It will be recollected, that a taste for poetry and romance had long been prevalent in France, and that during the thirteenth century, the lyric poetry of the Trouvères, their Fabliaux, and the old romances of chivalry were at the height of their renown. They were sung and recited both in the halls of princes, and in the cottages of the peasantry. They cheered the gloomy castles of gentle dames, whose lords had followed the redeeming Cross to Palestine; and maidens read them as a solace to the suffering knight, who had been wounded in joust or tourney. When we consider the great influence that poetry exerts over a language, and the great tendency it has to soften and enrich it, and then add to this the universal sway it bore throughout France, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there seems to be room for a little surprise, that the advance of the French language towards refinement was not more rapid and effectual in those centuries. We apprehend, that the solution of this problem must be looked for in the nature of the poetic compositions of the day, whose careless and familiar style served rather to perpetuate the barbarous forms of language, than to polish or improve them.

Though the progress of the French was not so rapid as we might have inferred that it should have been, still it was rapid in comparison with what it had been previously. We might trace it down through the lays and ballads of Thibault, Count of Champagne, who has been dignified with the title of the first of the *French* poets, and the songs of Jacques de Chison, Gace Brulé, and Raoul de Soissons, the *Sire de Vertus*.*

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*These are among the most celebrated French poets of the first half of the thirteenth century. The language is much more indebted to them than to any writers that preceded them. Of Thibault and Gace Brulé, the old *Chronique de Saint Denis* says, '*qu'ils firent entre eux les plus belles chansons, les plus délicates, et les plus mélodieuses, qui furent oncq oyées.* They both possess grace and *naïveté*. These qualities belong equally to Jacques de Chison, who surpassed most of his contemporaries in delicacy and sentiment. He is the only poet we recollect of that licentious age, who sung the charms of wedlock.

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But for obvious reasons, we prefer to step forward a half century from the time of Vaqueiras, and show at a single glance, what had been done in the interval.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century flourished Guillaume de Lorris, whom Marot called the *French Ennius*. Of the life of this poet nothing is known: even the epoch of his death is uncertain. French literature owes to his genius the commencement of the Romaunt of the Rose, a poem remarkable, when we consider the age in which it was written, for the brilliant fancy and easy versification it displays, and still more remarkable as standing pre-eminent above all others, until the time of Francis I.

The Romaunt of the Rose is an allegorical poem, in which sacred history is mingled with fable, and the morals of a licentious age are satirized with unsparing severity. The main subject is the art of love; or, as the author informs us at the commencement of the work,

> 'Ce est li Rommanz de la Roze
> Ou l'art d'amors est tote enclose.'

To illustrate what we have said of the progress of the language during the first half of the thirteenth century, and to exhibit the lively fancy and easy style of Guillaume de Lorris, we extract from his Romaunt the following description of Time. We avail ourselves of Chaucer's translation, which we place below the text. It was written about the middle of the fourteenth century,—a century after the original. This translation is preferable to any other, since it is as nearly literal as any translation can be, and moreover contains the true spirit of the original. By having a specimen of the English language of the fourteenth century before them, our readers will be enabled, also, to compare it with specimens of the French, of the same period, which will be given in the sequel of this article, and thereby to see which of these languages was in advance in point of cultivation.

> 'Le temps qui s'en va nuit et jour,
> Sans repos prendre et sans séjour,
> Et qui de nous se part et emble
> Si celéément, qu' il nous semble

Raoul de Soissons was the bosom friend of Thibault, and certainly possesses something of his grace.

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Qu' il nous soit adès en un point,
Et il ne s'y arreste point,
Ains ne fine de trespasser,
Si que l'on ne pourroit penser
Lequel temps c'est qui est présent,
Ce demande-je au clerc lisant;
Car ainçois qu'il eût ce pensé
Seroit-il jà outre passé.
Le temps si ne peut séjourner,
Mais va toujours sans retourner,
Comme l'eau qui s'avale toute,
Dont n'en retourne arriere goutte.
Le temps s'en va, et rien ne dure,
Ne fer, ne chose tant soit dure;
Car il gaste tout et transmuë.
C'est celui qui les choses muë,
Qui tout fait croistre et tout mourir.'*

'The time that passeth night and daye,
And restlesse trauayleth aye,
And stealeth from us so privyly
That to us seemeth sikerly (surely)
That it in one point dwelleth euer,
And certes it ne resteth neuer,
But goeth so fast and passeth aye
That there nis man that thinke maye
What time that now present is,
Asketh at these clerkes this,
For menne (whilst) thinke it readily
The times been passed by.
The time that may not soiourne
But goth, and may neuer retourne,
As water that doun runneth aye
But neuer droppe retourne maye
There may nothing as time endure,
Metall, nor yearthly creature,
For all thing is frette (devoured) and shall, [be]
The time eke that chaungeth all,
And all doth waxe, and fostred be,
And all thing destroyeth he.†'

* Les Poètes François, depuis le XII. Siècle jusqu' à Malherbe. T. II. p. 111.

† The works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper. By A. Chalmers. Vol. I. p. 174.

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The death of Guillaume de Lorris is supposed to have taken place about the year 1261. Forty years after, the Romaunt of the Rose, which he left unfinished, was completed by Jean de Meun. To this man has been yielded the palm not only of being the greatest poet, but likewise of being one of the most learned men of his age. He died about the year 1320. Having been the scourge of the hypocrisy of the priests during his life, one of his last acts was a practical satire upon their cupidity. In his will he bequeathed to a convent of Dominican Friars, a large chest, which was not to be opened till after the death of the testator. Supposing from its great weight, that it was full of valuable effects, they gave the poet an honorable burial in their convent. No sooner were the funeral obsequies over, than they opened the strong box with eager curiosity, and found it full, not of money and precious articles, but of large squares of slate, covered with inexplicable mathematical figures and diagrams.

We regret that our limits will not permit us to give an extract from that part of the Romaunt of the Rose, of which Meun was the author. Many portions of it are very beautiful; particularly the description of the *Loves of the Golden Age*, when

> 'Les oyseaux *en leur latin*
> S'estudient chascun matin.'

We now come down to the fourteenth century. About the middle of this century flourished Jean Froissart, better known as a historian than as a poet. The following *Rondel*, which possesses both vivacity and *naïveté*, will show what improvement the French had made, both in phraseology and grace of style, during the last half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. And here it may be remarked, that we shall find the progress of the language more and more gradual, as we recede farther and farther from the ages of absolute barbarism; and that after a certain point of refinement has been reached, a whole century will not produce so great a change, as the lapse of a few years has produced at some previous epoch.

RONDEL.

'Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur;
Je ne cognois ne vous, ne vostre afaire,

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Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur.

'Lequel vaut mieux, parler, prier ou taire?
Dites-le-moi vous qui avés bon eur:
Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur.'

'Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I fix'd or sure in thee!
I do not know thee—nor what deeds are thine:
Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I fix'd or sure in thee.

Shall I be mute, or vows with prayers combine?
Ye who are bless'd in loving, tell it me:
Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I permanent or sure in thee!'

During the same epoch with Froissart, flourished the famous Olivier Basselin, whose name in poetic history takes the various shapes of *Vasselin*, *Bachelin*, *Bisselin* and *Bosselin*. He was the inventer of *Vaudevilles*, and a noisy apostle of *le bon vin*, and *le cidre de Normandie*. We cannot, however, make use of his writings in illustration of the state of the French language in his day, for it suffices to glance the eye over them, in order to perceive that they are not written in the style and language of that age, but have all been re-touched by a later hand.

As we advance into the fifteenth century, the mists of antique phrase begin to roll away, and we no longer grope along in the obscurity of a barbarous dialect, though occasionally an unknown word, or an idiom of outlandish aspect reminds us, that we are still in the land of strangers. During the first half of the century of which we speak, lived and flourished a poet of singular delicacy of thought, and wonderful sweetness of expression. This was Charles d'Orléans, father of Louis XII. and uncle of Francis I. Like James I. of Scotland, he was far in advance of his age in learning and refinement, and like the royal Scottish poet, passed a great portion of his life in sorrow and imprisonment. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and carried into England, where he remained twenty-five years in captivity. It was there that he composed most of his poetry. He died in 1467.

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The following *Rondel* and *Renouveau* will exhibit the progress of the language during the above-mentioned epoch. And let it be recollected, that when we speak of the progress of the language, we do not refer to changes in orthography. Of this a word hereafter.

RONDEL.

'Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie;
Me cuydez-vous toute ma vie
Gouverner, comme fait avez?
Je vous promets que non ferez;
Raison aura sur vous maistrie
Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie.

'Si jamais vous retournez
Avecque vostre compagnie,
Je prie à Dieu qu' il vous maudie,
Et le jour que vous reviendrez:
Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie.'

'Hence away, begone, begone,
Carking care and melancholie;
Think ye thus to govern me
All my life long, as ye have done?
That shall ye not, I promise ye,
Reason shall have the masterie.
So hence away, begone, begone,
Carking care, and melancholie.

'If ever ye return this way,
With your mournful company,
A curse be on ye, and the day
That brings ye moping back to me:
Hence away, begone, I say,
Carking care and melancholy.'

The following *Renouveau*, or song, on the return of Spring, is full of delicacy and beauty.

LE RENOUVEAU.

'Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,
Et s'est vestu de broderie
De soleil luisant, clair et beau.

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Il n'y a beste, ni oyseau
Qu' en son jargon ne chante ou crye.
Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.

'Riviere, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent en livrée jolie
Gouttes d' argent d' orfavrerie ;
Chascun s' habille de nouveau ;
Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.'

'Now Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain,
And clothes him in the embroidery
Of glittering sun and clear blue sky.
With beast and bird the forest rings,
Each in his jargon cries or sings :
And Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain.

'River, and fount, and tinkling brook
Wear in their dainty livery
Drops of silver jewelry ;
In new-made suit they merry look ;
And Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain.'

We have before remarked, that in speaking of the progress of the French language, we did not refer to the changes of its orthography. We refer to its increasing richness, and force, and appropriateness; to the harmony of its periods, the refinement of its idioms, the delicacy of its expressions, the ease, and elegance, and dignity of its style; or in a word, to its approximation to a perfect medium of thought. In our judgment, therefore, of this point, we cannot rely much upon the changes of orthography; for we often find, and particularly in the old French authors, great elegance of style and diction arrayed in the most uncouth orthography. This is strikingly the case with some of the provincial writers of the centre and south of France, both in the age of Charles d'Orléans, and at much later periods.* Of this we have full testimony in numerous

*Of how little importance the old French writers deemed the subject of orthography, may be inferred from a passage in Montaigne. 'Je ne me mesle, ny d'orthographe (et ordonne seulement qu'ils suivent l'ancienne) n'y de la punctuation: je suis peu expert en l'un et en l' autre.' Essais de Montaigne. Lib. III. ch. 9.

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authors. Look, for example, into the writings of Clotilde de Surville, a poetess, who flourished contemporaneously with Orléans. Her style is in a high degree correct, harmonious, and polished, but her orthography is uncouth and provincial. Perhaps it was in reference to this, that Alain Chartier in his ***Flour de belle rhétorique***, said of her, '*qu'elle n'auroit jamais l'air de cour:*' for assuredly *Maistre* Alain could not have referred to the polished ease of her versification, so much more courtly than his own. The following beautiful extract will illustrate our remark.

VERSLETS A MON PREMIER NE.

'O cher enfantelet, vray pourtraict de ton pere,
Dors sur le seyn que ta bousche a pressé!
Dors, petiot; cloz, amy, sur le seyn de ta mere,
Tien doulx œillet par le somme oppressé.

'Bel amy, cher petiot, que ta pupille tendre
Gouste ung sommeil qui plus n'est faict pour moy!
Je veille pour te veoir, te nourrir, te défendre....
Ainz qu'il m'est doulx ne veiller que pour toy!

'Estend ses brasselets; s'espand sur lui le somme:
Se clost son œil: plus ne bouge...il s'endort...
N'estoit ce tayn floury des couleurs de la pomme,
Ne le diriez dans les bras de la mort?

'Arreste, cher enfant!...j'en frémy toute engtiere!
Réveille-toy! chasse ung fatal propoz!
Mon fils!..pour ung moment...ah! revoy la lumiere!
Au prilx du tien rends-moy tout mon repoz!

'Doulce erreur! il dormoit...c'est assez...je respire;
Songes légiers, flatteź son doulx sommeil!
Ah! quand voyray cestuy pour qui mon cueur souspire,
Aux miens costez, jouir de son réveil?'*

LINES TO MY FIRST BORN.

'Sweet babe! true portrait of thy father's face,
Sleep on the bosom that thy lips have prest!
Sleep, little one; and closely, gently place
Thy drowsy eyelid on thy mother's breast.

*Bibliothèque choisie des Poëtes François. Tome II. p. 210.

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'Upon that tender eye, my little friend,
Soft sleep shall come, that cometh not to me!
I watch to see thee, nourish thee, defend....
'Tis sweet to watch for thee—alone for thee.

'His arms fall down; sleep sits upon his brow;
His eye is closed: he sleeps....how still and calm!
Wore not his cheek the apple's ruddy glow,
Would you not say he slept on death's cold arm?

'Awake, my boy!....I tremble with affright!..
Awake, and chase this fatal thought!..unclose
Thine eye but for one moment on the light!
Even at the price of thine give me repose!

'Sweet error!—he but slept....I breathe again....
Come gentle dreams, the hour of sleep beguile!
Oh! when shall he, for whom I sigh in vain,
Beside me watch to see that waking smile?'

We pass over the writings of Villon, who also flourished in the fifteenth century. In comparison with Charles d'Orléans and Clotilde de Surville, he little deserves the high praise bestowed upon him by Boileau, who says,

'Villon sut le premier, dans ces siècles grossiers,
Débrouiller l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers.'*

We now come to that brilliant epoch in the history of the French language and literature, the reign of Francis I. in the sixteenth century. The better to conceive how much this prince, surnamed the *Father of Letters*, advanced the cultivation of his native tongue, it should be borne in mind, that until his day all public acts and documents were published in Latin, and that to him belongs the praise of having abolished this ancient usage, and ordered that *doresnavent tous arrets soient prononcés, enregistrés et délivrés aux parties en langage maternel François, et non aultrement.* This elevated the character of the language, and gave a new impulse to its progress. The new encouragement given to literature, and the new honors paid to literary men, seconded this impulse; and dur-

*L'Art Poëtique. Chant. I. Œuv. de Boileau. T. I. p. 249.

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ing the single reign of this munificent prince, the French language made as much progress in ease and refinement, as it has made from that day to the present. Pre-eminent among the names of those authors, who were instrumental in effecting the improvement, stands that of Clement Marot, the most celebrated of all the ancient worthies of French poetry. Surrounded by the elegance and refinement of the French court, and guided by the counsels of his friend and preceptor Jehan Lemaire, he applied himself assiduously to the cultivation of his native tongue, and to establishing for it those rules and principles, which would give it permanence and precision, but which all previous writers had entirely disregarded. 'Marot,' says M. Augius, in his Discourse upon the Origin and Progress of the poetic language of France, 'had but one course to pursue; to leave the imitation of every other language, and seek for the genius of our own within itself: and this he did. The asperity of its terminations and connexions was the fatal quick-sand of our grammar; he adhered to those words and turns of expression, which had been smoothed by the constant attrition of good usage. He treasured up and employed every pleasing rhyme, and easy-flowing phrase, which by chance had fallen from the pens of more ancient writers; but it was in the cultivated and refined conversation of ladies of high rank, that he acquired the most delicate perception of the true harmony of language; it was from the natural beauty of their expressions, and the vivacity, clearness, and melody of their periods, that he drew his own honied sweetness, and learned the true character of our language. This was all, which at that period could be done; and it was doing much, to teach the future scholar, that the genius of the French language consists in its ease, its vivacity, its precision, and above all, in its perspicuity and directness.'*

The poetry of Marot was the delight of the court of Francis. In the opinion of La Harpe, though by the way we do not always pay unqualified respect to his opinions in matters of taste, his talent was infinitely superior to that of any who preceded him, or came after him, till the days of Malherbe. The following ballad will suffice as a specimen of Marot's versification, and his satiric vein.

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* Bibliothèque Choisie des Poëtes François. Discours Préliminaire. T. I. p. 20.

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LE FRERE LUBIN.—BALLADE.

'Pour courir en post à la ville,
Vingt fois, cent fois, ne sçais combien;
Pour faire quelque chose vile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
Mais d'avoir honneste entretien,
Ou mener vie salutaire,
C'est affaire à un bon chrétien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.

'Pour mettre, comme un homme habile,
Le bien d' autrui avec le sien,
Et vous laisser sans croix, ni pile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
On a beau dire je le tien,
Et le presser de satisfaire,
Jamais il ne vous rendra rien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.

'Pour débaucher, par un doux style,
Quelque fille de bon maintien,
Point ne faut de vieille subtile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
Il presche en théologien;
Mais pour boire de belle eau claire,
Faites la boire à votre chien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.'

ENVOI.

'Pour faire putost mal que bien,
Frère Lubin le fera bien;
Mais si c'est quelque bonne affaire,
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.'*

FRIAR LUBIN.

'To gallop off to town post haste,
So oft, the times I cannot tell;
To do vile deed, nor feel disgraced,
Friar Lubin will do it well.
But a sober life to lead,
To honor virtue, and pursue it,
That 's a pious christian deed;
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

* Bibliothèque Choisie des Pöetes François. Tome III. p. 56.

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'To mingle, with a knowing smile,
The goods of others with his own,
And leave you without cross or pile,
Friar Lubin stands alone.
To say 't is yours, is all in vain,
If once he lays his finger to it;
For as to giving back again,
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

'With flattering words, and gentle tone,
To seduce the guileless maid,
Cunning pander need you none,
Friar Lubin knows the trade.
Loud preacheth he sobriety,
But as for water, doth eschew it;
Your dog may drink it—but not he;
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

ENVOY.

'When an evil deed 's to do,
Friar Lubin is stout and true;
Glimmers a ray of goodness through it?
Friar Lubin cannot do it.'

We have thus brought the poetic language down to the sixteenth century, the first truly remarkable epoch in its history. About the middle of the same century, it seemed to be fast relapsing into barbarism. Ronsard, a celebrated poet of the age, thinking the language poor and feeble, conceived the project of enriching it, by giving it the forms and phraseology of the Greek and Latin:

Et sa muse, en François, parla Grec et Latin.

This was like arraying the graceful limbs of a ballet-dancer in gyves and cuishes, or rather like equipping them with a ponderous suit of antique armor. The grace of the French language began to yield beneath the weight of a scholastic jargon and a cumbersome and pedantic erudition.*

* Montaigne, speaking of these innovators, says, 'Ils sont assez hardis et desdaigneux pour ne suivre la route commune; mais faute d' invention et de discretion les perd. Il ne s' y veoid qu' une miserable affectation d'estrangieté, des desguisements froids et absurdes, qui au lieu d' esleiver, abbattent la matiere. Pourvu qu' ils se gorgiassent en la nouvelleté, il ne leur importe de l' efficace, pour saisir un nouveau mot; ils quittent l' ordinaire, souvent plus fort et plus nerveux.' Essais de Montaigne. Liv. III. Chap. 5.

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Fortunately for the welfare of the French language and literature, a superior genius appeared to rescue them from the corruption of perverted taste. This was Malherbe. Endowed by nature with peculiar energy of mind and brilliancy of imagination, he so strenuously asserted the rights of his native tongue against all foreign usurpation, that he gained at court the appellation of the *Tyrant of words and syllables*. It is related of him, that but an hour before his death, his father-confessor speaking to him of the felicity of the life beyond the grave, expressed himself in language so vulgar and incorrect, that the dying poet exclaimed, 'Say no more of it; your pitiful style will disgust me with it.'

Malherbe is regarded by the French as the father of their poetry. To him belongs the glory of having first developed the full power of the French language in many of the various branches of poetic composition. 'Beauty of expression and imagery,' says a French writer, 'rapidity of movement and sublimity of ideas, enthusiasm, number, cadence, all are to be found in his beautiful odes. No one knew better than he the effects of harmony; no one possessed a more exquisite taste, or a more delicate ear. Grief and sensibility find beneath his pen expressions *naïves* and pathetic, and the form of versification follows naturally the emotions of the soul. We are filled with astonishment and admiration, when we compare his noble language with the barbarous style of the disciples of Ronsard. Thus was ushered in the brilliant age of Louis XIV.'

In the mean time, French prose remained uncultivated, and in a state of comparative barbarism, until the days of Montaigne, who flourished in the last half of the sixteenth century. Even Clement Marot is crude and obscure as a prose writer, and Rabelais,* his contemporary, soon fatigues even the most quaint and curious. The following extract is from a letter of François I. to Mademoiselle d'Heilli.

'Ayant perdu l' occasion de plaisante escripture, et acquis oubliance de tout contentement, n'est demouré riens vivant en ma mémoire que la souvenance de votre heureuse bonne grace, qui en moy a la seulle puissance de tenir vif le reste de mon ingrate fortune; et pourceque l' occasion, le lieu, le temps et commodité

* 'Ceux que rebutait son langage bizarre et obscur ont laissé là Rabelais comme un insensé; ceux qui ont trávaillé à la déchiffrer, ont exalté son mérite en raison de ce qu'il leur avait couté d' entendre.' La Harpe; Cours de Littérature. T. II. Introduction.

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me sont rudes par triste prison, vous plaira excuser le fruict qu' a meuri mon esperit en ce pénible lieu, et entendre que, en quelque peine, tourment, garde que puisse estre le corps, la volunté ne cherchera que la doulce occasion de faire chose qui vous puisse donner congnoissance que ce qui est demouré en lui libre et non mort n' est desdyé que à vous faire service : par quoy cest indigne présent de votre honneste veue sera, s' il vous plaist, recueilly, non comme son imperfection mérite, mais comme tribut de ma pensée : laquelle seulle, pour la nécessité de ma liberté, a considéré ne vous povoir faire autre service que vous rendre compte de ma misérable calamité, affin de vous convertir en autant de piteuse souvenance, comme a d' affection de vous servir, celui qui va dire :

Triste penser et prison trop obscure,
L' honneur, le soing, etc. etc.'

Poët. Franç. T. III. p. 9.

The following passage is quoted by Bouterwek* from the writings of Rabelais, in illustration of the attempts to introduce into the French language the pedantic phraseology of scholastic learning, to which we have alluded above.

'Quelque jour, je ne sçay quand, Pantagruel se pourmenoit apres soupper avecques ses compaignons par la porte dont l'on va à Paris, la rencontra ung escholier tout joliet, qui venoit par icelluy chemin; et après qu' ils se feurent salüez, luy demanda; mon amy, dont viens tu à ceste heure ? L' escholier luy repondit : De *l' alme inclyte* et celebre academie, que l' on *vocite Lutece*. Qu' est-ce à dire ? dist Pantagruel, à ung de ses gents. C' est (respondit il) de Paris. Tu viens donc de Paris ? dist il. Et â quoi passez-vous le temps, vous aultres Messieurs estudians au dict Paris ? Respondit l' escholier : Nous *transfretons* la *Sequane* au *dilucule*, et *crepuscule :* nous *deambulons* par les *compites* et *quadrivies* de *l' urbe*, nous *despumons* la *verbocination Latiale :* et comme *verisimiles amorabons*, captons la benivolence de *l' omnijuge, omniforme* et *omnigene* sexe feminin, certaines *diecules*.'

A few years later, Montaigne became to French prose what Marot had been to French poetry. He did much to give energy and stability to what had before been vague, fluctuating and uncertain. Speaking of the language of his age, he observes :

'J' escris mon livre à peu d' hommes et à peu d' années. Si c' eust esté une matiere de durée, il l' eust fallu commettre à un

* Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsam-Keit. Band V. S. 291.

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langage plus ferme : selon la variation continuelle, qui a suivy le nostre jusques à cett' heure, qui peut esperer que sa forme presente soit en usage d' icy à cinquante ans? Il escoule tous les jours de nos mains : et depuis que je vis, il s' est alteré de moitié. Nous disons, qu' il est à cett' heure parfaict. Aultant en dict du sien chaque siecle. Je n'ay garde de l' en tenir là tant qu' il fuira, et s' ira difformant comme il faict. C' est aux bons et utiles esprits de le cloüer à eulx; et ira son credit, selon la fortune de nostre estat.'*

In another place, he speaks thus of his own language, and of the several dialects around him.

'Mon langage François est alteré, et en la prononciation et ailleurs, par la barbarie de mon creu. Je ne vy jamais homme des contrées de deçà,† que ne sentist bien evidemment son ramage, et qui ne blessast les aureilles qui sont pures françoises. Si n' est-ce par pour estre fort entendu de mon Perigourdin; car je n'en ay non plus d' usage que de l' Allemand, et ne m' en chault guere. C' est un langage, comme sont autour de moy d'une bande et d' aultre, le *Poitevin*, *Xaintongeois*, *Angoulemosin*, *Lymosin*, *Auvergnat*; brode, trainant, esfoiré. Il y a bien au dessus de nous, vers les montaignes, un *Gascon*, que je trouve singulierement beau, sec, bref, signifiant, et à la verité un langage masle et militaire, plus qu' aulcun aultre, que j' entende : aultant nerveux et puissant, et pertinent, comme le François est gracieux, delicat et abondant.'‡

In a third passage, he thus expresses himself upon the subject of his native language.

'En nostre language je trouve assez d'estoffe, mais un peu faute de façon. Car il n'est rien qu' on ne feit du jargon de nos chasses, et de nostre guerre, qui est un genereux terrein à emprunter. Et les formes de parler, comme les herbes s' ammendent et fortifient en les transplantant. Je le trouve suffisamment abondant, mais non pas maniant et vigoreux suffisamment. Il succombe ordinairement à une puissante conception. Si vous allez tendu, vous sentez souvent qu'il languit soubs vous, et fleschit : et qu'à son deffaut le latin se presente au secours, et le grec à d'aultres.'§

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* Essais de Montaigne. Liv. III. Chap. 9.

† Montaigne was born at Périgord; consequently the *contrées de deçà* refer to the provinces south of the Loire.

‡ Essais de Montaigne. Liv. II. Chap. 17.

§ Essais, Liv. III. Chap. 5.

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This opinion of the merits and defects of the French language as it existed in the days of Montaigne, is to a certain extent just, when applied to its present character. Its chief characteristics, as has been before remarked, are ease, vivacity, precision, perspicuity and directness. It is superior to all the other modern languages in colloquial elegance; and all who are conversant with the genteel comedy of the French stage, or have ever attended the theatrical exhibitions of the French metropolis, must have been struck with the vast superiority of the French language to the English in its adaptation to the purposes of conversation and the refinement of its familiar dialogue.* It possesses a peculiar point and antithesis in the epigram, a spirited ease in songs, and a most plaintive sweetness and simple pathos in ballad-writing. But in the higher walks of tragic and epic poetry it but feebly seconds the high-aspiring mind. The sound but faintly echoes to the sublime harmony of thought; the glorious conceptions of genius fall almost lifeless from the lips of the poet; and the imagination, instead of being borne onward and upward, on sounding wings, stoops to the long accustomed rhyme like a tired falcon to the hood and jesses on a lady's wrist.

It is not our purpose to inquire into the changes which have taken place in the French language since the days of Malherbe. They consist less in innovations and the introduction of new words, than in giving to words and forms of expression long in use their full force and appropriate signification, adapting them to new and striking uses, and, in a word, in bringing forward and displaying in proper light the treasures of the language. This change in the use of words may be shown by a familiar illustration, taken from the Psalms of Jean Baptiste Chassignet, a writer of the sixteenth century. His paraphrase of the XCII. Psalm commences thus:

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* The familiar and colloquial character of the French language is thus finely ridiculed by Voltaire, in his *Discours aux Velches:*

'Ne trouvez-vous pas que les noms de vos portes, de vos rues, de vos temples feraient un bel effet dans un poeme épique? On aime à voir Hector courir du temple de Pallas à la porte de Scée. L'oreille est aussi flattée que l'imagination amusée, quand les Grecs avancent de Ténédos aux rivages de Troye sur les rives du Simoïs et du Scamandre: mais, en vérité, pourrait-on peindre vos héros partant de l'église de *Saint-Pierre-aux-Bœufs* ou de *Saint-Jacques-du-haut- pas*, avançant fièrement par la rue du *Pet-au-Diable*, et par la rue *Trousse-vache*, s' embarquant sur la galiote de *Saint-Cloud*, et allant combattre dans la place de *Long Jumeau*?'

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'Soit que du beau soleil *la perruque* empourprée
Redore de ses rais cette basse contrée; etc.'

Now in the modern acceptation of these words, what a ludicrous metaphor have we here! The sun in a *purple periwig* makes rather a queer figure amid the splendid imagery of the Hebrew Psalmist. But in Chassignet's day the word *perruque* was synonymous with *chevelure*, and the *perruque du soleil* was consequently a form of expression analogous to that of *La Chevelure de Bérénice*, or Berenice's Hair, deemed so poetical in modern usage.

But enough. We have thus taken a rapid, and in some respects a superficial view of the origin and progress of the French language. We have purposely confined ourselves to the general outline of the subject, rather than to seeking derivations, and tracing out analogies. When Ménage published his learned and critical work upon this subject, it was said of him, 'Ménage is the most troublesome man in the world; he cannot let a single word go, without a passport; he must know whence it comes, the road it has pursued, and whither it is going.' We have no fears of falling under an imputation of such rigid scrutiny. The increasing attention paid to the study of the French throughout this section of our country, and its importance as a branch of elementary and liberal education, sufficiently warrant us to devote a few pages of our Journal to this subject; and in so doing, we have dealt largely in extracts and illustrations, and have avoided trespassing on the precincts of etymology, in order to give the subject a more agreeable aspect in the eyes of our readers.

ART. II.—*Foreign Relations of Mexico.*

1. *Memoria de la Secretaria de Estado y del Despacho de Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores, leida por el Secretario del ramo el dia* 13 *de febrero de* 1830. Mexico, 1830.
2. *Memoria del Secretario de Estado y del Despacho universal de Justicia y Negocios Eclesiasticos el dia* 22 *de Marzo de* 1830. Mexico, 1830.

In a recent number of this Journal, we invited the attention of our readers to the domestic politics of the Republic of Mexico. It was a subject full of peculiar interest, and one to which we felt great diffidence of our ability to do justice. We

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have no reason to retract any of the opinions we then advanced, whether relating to men or measures, or to believe, that in a very wide range of remarks we bestowed one word of unmerited praise or censure. The effect, however, of the scenes we endeavored to describe, on the opinions and affections of the rest of the world, involves questions wholly distinct from the judgment to be pronounced on the merits of party contests. In the narrative of the revolution, from its commencement to a period so recent as the elevation of Iturbide in 1821, when active warfare ceased, there is much pleasing matter for contemplation. Heroism and self-devotion worthy of a more romantic age, distinguished the patriot soldiers of Mexico. The annals of her peaceful times have no such honorable distinction, and have of late recorded little beside the convulsions of anarchy and faction. Bitter political resentments, productive of political persecutions of the most repulsive character, have stained the fair fame of our republican sister. Varied as the scene has been, the citizens of this country have derived much substantial benefit from the results which have been presented to their view; and now that the period of enthusiasm and fanciful sympathy is past, we may draw more than one salutary moral from the alternations of fortune which our fellow freemen have experienced. We may realize our obligations to our national ancestry. We may justly estimate the benefit of the severity of discipline which the settlers of this continent underwent, and which has produced the vigor of constitution and purity of moral temperament that make us what we are. We may thank a kind Providence for our free infancy, and last of all, we may find in the contrast another source of unlimited gratitude, in the perpetuation amongst us of a system of pure and rational religion, which has placed us at that point on the scale of intellectual being, where devout humility and aspiring reason blend, and where we may adore the God of revelation, without discarding the use of the high faculties he has bestowed on us.

Other more practical advantages have resulted from the observation of the irregularities and peculiarities of our fellow republicans' course. It has, we hope, enabled our statesmen to know the suitable relations of the American communities, and the conduct which, in our diplomatic intercourse, it is proper for us to pursue. On the minds of those who have had commercial experience, a more severe process has produced

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the same salutary effect. In all, there was perhaps equal enthusiasm, and the same joyous anticipation when the curtain was first drawn, and the magnificent scene of a world, enjoying all the freshness of new born liberty, was presented to their view. The plain of Mexico, with its placid lakes reposing beneath the tranquillity of a tropical sky, its snowy hills, its palaces glittering in the morning beams, and all the smiling beauty of its peculiar scenery, was not a more exciting spectacle, when first viewed by the soldiers of Cortez, than was the moral scene thus developed to admiring man. 'The exultation of unfettered earth' was heard with unqualified delight, and awakened all the varied illusions of selfish enterprise and romance. The sphere of diplomacy and political influence was immeasurably enlarged. To the commercial speculator, there was opened a wide and unexplored wilderness for adventure. The perfect fabrics of the nineteenth century were to be as profitable, as were the glass beads, and tinsel of the first Spanish settlers. The regular channel of supply had been cut off by rebellion; and by the increased wants of the emancipated colonists, and their limited internal means of subsistence, a market was opened for foreign produce, which, in extent and probable durability, had never been equalled in the history of commercial enterprise. The population of Spanish America at the period of the revolution may be safely estimated at twenty millions, all thrown for support and wholly dependent on the world of merchants. The history of what ensued would fill an instructive volume. Those nations which were most liable to the inducements, as well from their situation and resources as from their powerful commercial marine, were Great Britain and the United States. On both, though in different degrees, the same results were produced, and each has acquired an amount of experimental knowledge, which may be useful in seasons of similar temptation.

In England, where the amount of available capital afforded the means of any investment, however insecure, a wildness of speculation ensued, to which we know of no parallel. It was not ordinary mercantile hazard, which in point of relative risk, is identical with the most regular of the doubtful pursuits of humanity. It was betting against the field on an untried horse; it was gambling, for aught that was known to the contrary, with sharpers and false dice; it was a lottery without a scheme, and of which nothing was known, but that on former

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occasions rich prizes had fallen from the wheels. Of the blanks no record had survived. The history of the English Joint Stock Mining Companies, is curious and perfectly characteristic of the adventurous and credulous times in which our lot is cast. It is not consistent with the specific objects we now have in view, to dwell particularly on the origin and event of these speculations, to which we only refer as illustrative of the painful experience which the world has recently acquired; but as they form a prominent feature in the history of commercial intercourse with the Spanish American nations, we will bestow on them a hasty and passing remark.

All the mines worked by foreign capital have not utterly failed. So far, the persevering enthusiasts on this subject are justified in their constancy. But when the immense amount of foreign investment is, as it easily may be, ascertained, it will be seen how slight a qualification of actual and extensive ruin this partial success affords. It is but a drop of water on the feverish tongue. To take a single instance. The capital of the mining Leviathan at Real del Monte was four hundred thousand pounds; and if to this be added the premium of fourteen hundred pounds per share, which it attained in 1824, we may form something like an estimate of the amount which this experiment alone has cost the British public, without any tangible equivalent in the product of the mines. We have not at this time the means of ascertaining the actual receipts; but no safer guide is requisite than the fluctuation of the stock, and no more satisfactory proof of the failure of the scheme than the fact, that within two years the value of a share has sunk from the enormous advance to which we have referred, to a discount. An examination of such materials as recent publications on this subject have afforded, justifies the assertion that there is no substantial difference in the career and prospects of the foreign mining corporations in New Spain. '*Bonanzas*,' to use a technical phrase, there doubtless have been; but specious as are the descriptions of them, they have been really ineffectual in enabling the shattered hulks to stem the silent and powerful current which has been setting against them. The study of a London price current and the quotations of mining shares would be essentially instructive to any one afflicted with speculating propensities. From the immense amount of British investment, in Mexico particularly, one consequence has resulted. To this hour and amid all circum-

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stances of despondency, there is a strong and natural reluctance to abandon the speculations. In 1828, Mr. Ward estimated the English investment alone at twelve millions sterling; a stake, it will be admitted, too large to be hastily and inconsiderately sacrificed; and the manifest object of his elaborate work, is to induce a renewal of confidence on the part of the stockholders, and to persuade them to make further advances to save what has already been spent. Such an effort may be natural, but will, we suspect, be unsuccessful. Had the political tranquillity of Mexico been uninterrupted, and had her rulers evinced a disposition to act with justice in their intercourse with foreign residents, the actual failure of the experiment, even though temporary, must have occasioned a panic; and panic, with or without cause, among capitalists and speculators, is contagious and fatal. To attempt to draw from men smarting under disappointment and confessed imposture, more supplies to arrive at a contingent result, or by any process of reasoning or array of facts to convince them, that the only real disappointment has been in the period of success, and that by dropping the line a little deeper, all the sunken and all expected treasures will be obtained, is idle and irrational in the extreme. Those who have so severely suffered are apt to construe such kindness into insult. When, as at present, mining shares are consigned to the same pigeonholes as South Sea bonds, and like our continental certificates, have become only historically valuable, it is beneath the dignity of sober counsel to endeavor to induce a resumption of confidence. The more manly, and we cannot but believe the more politic course, would be to advise the mining capitalists to wind up their ruinous schemes, to squander no more money in the hope of recovering what is irretrievably gone, to leave the wrecks of their speculations for the benefit of the Mexican proprietors, into whose hands by the terms of their contracts they must eventually fall, and to turn their experience to the best account, by deriving from it a stock of prudence, which will save them from future mischief. The unsettled state of the countries where their interests lie, the frequent revolutions which the administration of the government has undergone, the want of security which the legislative tactics, especially of Mexico, have occasioned, are all additional inducements of strong efficacy.

The policy of the Spanish rulers with regard to the mining interests was that of judicious liberality. While every other

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branch of the colonial administration was directed by the spirit of narrow prejudice and false calculation, every facility which their peculiar system would permit, was afforded to those who were engaged in working the mines. It was the only relaxation which was allowed in a system of rigid monopoly and prohibition. On the organization of the new government a similarly beneficial course was pursued, and the foreign companies commenced their operations under auspices, so far as the local authorities were concerned, as favorable as they could wish. Along with other propitious symptoms, this protecting policy has now ceased to afford encouragement. No one can pretend to say how long it will continue, nor to how slight an impulse of mistaken interest it may yield. A new duty on the import of quicksilver, or on the export of coined or uncoined silver, in the event of a sudden receipt from the mines, may, to the anxious mind of the disappointed and irritated adventurer, be not less improbable than an instantaneous change in the valuation of foreign manufactures on the arrival of a number of valuable cargoes. Let us not be misunderstood. It is not our wish to detract from the credit which the government of republican Mexico has so deservedly acquired by the policy it has pursued in the cultivation of its mineral resources. In an early number of our Journal, will be found a cordial expression of opinion on this very point. We refer now to motives and suspicions likely to operate on the minds of the British capitalists, and of which the certain consequence will and ought to be the utter abandonment, sooner or later, of all the mining experiments, at least by those with whom they originated. The individuals who have had the largest stake in these enterprises, and those public censors who have thought it their duty to trace the progress of the disease, to ascertain its cause, and to fix the mark of reprobation somewhere, have emptied the vials of their resentment indiscriminately on all who, from any impulse, however honorable and natural, have contributed to the delusion; and, apparently unwilling to account for the wild aberrations of their countrymen, by attributing them to the influence of stock-jobbers and adventurers, have freely thrown the blame on travellers, whose motives are unimpeachable, and whose descriptions, though highly colored, have never been falsified. It has been a favorite theory with the leading journalists of Great Britain, to attribute the *mania* to unbounded reliance on the statements by Humboldt of the

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mineral wealth of New Spain. We have always regarded this as eminently unjust. That illustrious man stands above the charge of wilful misrepresentation; and if unqualified faith in such of his minute statements as were accidentally incorrect have occasioned injury, the fault is not his. Reject, if necessary, all allowance for the influence of favorable circumstances, and a sense of obligation in biassing his judgment, and put him on a level with other travellers in unexplored and interesting countries, and it is impossible to make his accidental inaccuracies the legitimate subject of complaint or censure. Vast changes too have occurred since the period when he wrote. When the traveller who now visits Mexico walks through the principal street of the capital, the *Calle de Plateros*, and contrasts the deserted and paltry workshops with the magnificent deposits of plate and jewelry described by Humboldt, he will doubtless be disappointed, as must he be, who, with the recollection of the glowing description of the flourishing condition of many of their mining establishments, sees their present dilapidation. But there is no reason to believe, that in either case, his brilliant descriptions, made under a grateful sense of the unwonted privilege conferred on him by the Spanish court, were substantially incorrect. For a long series of years prior to the Revolution, the annual product of the mines averaged twenty-four millions of dollars, and the circulating medium regularly increased. Private fortunes were immense, the display of wealth incredible, and we cannot but think it unfair to join in denouncing a traveller as culpably unfaithful, because his descriptions, made in the midst of this season of prosperity, do not correspond with the realities of the present distress and embarrassment. Had Humboldt, however, never written a line upon the subject of the Mexican mines, the same state of things would have occurred. Enough was known to justify adventure, and had nothing been known, the very darkness and uncertainty would have been a sufficient incentive. Man has been called a gambling animal, and there are periods of national existence when the liability to this kind of hereditary disease seems to be materially increased, and when the latent propensity is actively developed. Commercial speculation would afford a worthy theme for the philosophical historian. When that record shall be made up, the mining *mania* of the nineteenth century will be the appropriate successor of the South Sea and Mississippi delusions; and we may draw from all

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one inference, that nations, like individuals, will, when tempted, prefer lottery risks to wholesome industry, and that ruin and disgrace are marked on the tickets which fall from the pernicious wheels of chance.

But mining operations do not constitute the only mode of experience with regard to Mexico, which our transatlantic brethren have had. Loans to the new governments of America were equally abundant sources of speculation. In relation to the investments made by the British public on the confessedly contingent security of the mines, we are disposed to speak more in the tone of pity than rebuke; and while the feeling which the perception of such facility produces is almost that of contempt, it has no resemblance to that severe reprobation which every one ought to express at the deliberate swindling of the loan speculations. In the latter, there were two objects of injury; the governments to whom the apparent favor was done, and the purchasers of the debt, on whom the bankruptcy of the debtors has been directly visited. The process was a simple one. The moment when the necessity of the new community was the greatest, was cautiously watched; and when its agents were willing to accede to any terms to procure aliment to preserve its frail existence, a loan was offered at a heavy discount and with high interest. Any proposal, however exorbitant, was gladly received, and the usurious contract ratified. Here was the injury to the debtors. The bargain once completed, and the money advanced, the domestic operation commenced. The enthusiasm of the public, already and by causes of natural influence excited, was dexterously promoted; strained analogies, such, for instance, as the prosperity and financial fidelity of our government afforded, were resorted to; sources of confidence were discovered by the acute vision of the original creditors, the existence of which it was as difficult to disprove as to establish; the advantageous terms of the contracts were candidly exposed as in themselves authorizing the certainty of a vast eventual profit; the probable abundance of the mines, as increasing the pecuniary resources of the government, was collaterally brought to bear; in short, every inducement of possible efficacy was studiously developed, and the credulous and innocent were persuaded to become purchasers of the stock, and to regard the really worthless certificates as faithful symbols of substantial wealth. No casuistry can deny that this was actual fraud,—fraud, not of one expert

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rogue upon another, but of which the helpless and innocent were the victims. The two great Mexican loans were those negotiated in London with the houses of Goldschmidt and Barclay. They are fair samples of their brethren. The amount of the liability of the young republic to the former house was sixteen millions of dollars at five per cent., for which, after deducting a discount of nearly sixty per cent., and an allowance for *commissions*, and an advance of interest equivalent to thirteen per cent., it received the meagre sum of five million nine hundred thousand dollars. The terms of the second, negotiated in 1824 with the house of Barclay & Co., were apparently more favorable, though in fact equally disadvantageous to the debtors, the discount and allowances being more reasonable, while the proceeds amounted, in consequence of accident, to less. It was nominally a loan of sixteen millions, the avails, so far as they can be ascertained, being not more than five million three hundred thousand dollars. Such, then, was the bounty of the British monied community to the struggling republics of America. The process of ruin, as affecting the purchasers of the debt, may be traced in the fluctuations of the stock from its original and factitious elevation, to its present low level; and the effect of republican bankruptcy has been visited with unmitigated and unmerited severity on the numerous holders of the transferred certificates. Every part of this operation seems to have been directed to one of two objects, extravagant profits on the original transaction, or the immediate transfer of the stock. Permanent security, it may be inferred, was never seriously contemplated; and the regularity, or even the certainty of payment, either of principal or interest, seem to have been lightly considered. In 1823, when the first loan was negotiated, who could pretend to calculate the chances of reimbursement, or ascertain results of any kind with even ordinary precision? The Spanish power had been overthrown, but the prostrate tyrant, though sorely wounded, was not yet dead. The experiment of self-government had not been made with perfect success. Iturbide's rise and temporary ascendency had been an ominous sign. The convulsions of intestine war had not subsided, nor the factious spirit of a revolutionary contest been subdued. A constitutional government could not be said to exist. All was dim uncertainty; and if the avowal of distrust might have been regarded as unkind, confidence, such as the English loan-

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jobbers professed, was eminently absurd. Rational confidence is not however requisite to ensure the success of speculation; and all that is wanting, is the undefined enthusiasm which such a spectacle as the Spanish American revolution was calculated to excite. By those who felt the impulse of honest sympathy, no calculation was made. By those who did make the calculation, the result of the investment was supposed to depend wholly on the ultimate success of the political experiment; and the chances of wilful or involuntary abandonment of public faith, or of the accidental destruction of national credit by civil commotion, were never counted.

Such is the painful experience of Great Britain; and if we have omitted any notice of her direct commercial intercourse with New Spain and the other republics, it is because even the great benefits which she has thence derived, scarcely afford an equivalent for the injury and disgrace which have resulted from her other connexions with them.

The intercourse of this country with Mexico has been purely of a commercial character; and if there be a qualification of the favor with which we once regarded our neighbor, it has been produced by no such discreditable causes as have operated on the British public. We may state our complaints without a blush. With a single exception, no mining experiment originated in the United States; and in that instance, the event has been in perfect keeping with the failures abroad. The humble attempt of the Baltimore company to work a few of the silver veins at Temascaltepec scarcely deserves to be mentioned in the same breath with the gigantic schemes of the foreign capitalists. Yet humble as was the attempt, and complete as has been its failure, it is worthy of a passing remark, that from its progress, those who still have an interest in similar projects may derive a salutary lesson. In the English mining companies, an immense amount of money has been sunk by the profligate extravagance of the subordinate agents; who, both in their personal and official disbursements, seem to have been influenced by a conviction of certain remuneration. If ever a mining company deserved success, the American one did. On the part of the company, there was judicious confidence in its agents; on the part of the agents, conscientious and habitual economy and a sacrifice of personal convenience, which employers far more parsimonious would not have ventured to exact. It is with sincere pleasure that we pay this deserved tribute to the

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disinterested and honorable conduct of the gentleman, who, for several years, was at the head of the only American mining company in New Spain; and that we express the conviction, that, had success depended on the ability or fidelity of the individuals to whom the execution of the scheme was intrusted, it would in this instance have been attained. But in games like these, the most that economy and fidelity can do, is to diminish the loss in case of failure. Success is far beyond the control of such incidents. It is in no spirit of unkind exultation or offensive pity, that we unequivocally express the opinion, that the actual failure of this isolated experiment has been fortunate even for the individuals concerned, and certainly for the community at large. There is enough of the morbid principle of speculation in this country to operate most perniciously, and its activity might easily be developed. Had the Baltimore company been enabled to declare a dividend, or made the slightest demonstration of even temporary success, the flame of mining adventure would have spread rapidly, and we might have seen, on a smaller stage and with less gorgeous apparatus, the same drama that was acted abroad. During the years 1826 and 1827, travelling agents were actively engaged in propagating the preliminary doctrines, and exhibiting encouraging specimens in one hand and flattering certificates (equally infallible testimonials) in the other. In each of the large cities of the Union, schemes were quietly preparing, which only waited for a shadow of encouragement to spring forth and solicit the credulous patronage of the public. There is surely no excess of severity in the opinion, that the partial success of such hazardous investments would have been essentially injurious, and that the still-born death of this deformed project is a result on which we may reasonably congratulate our fellow citizens. There are legitimate modes of investment which are entitled to preference;—experiments which, even in case of failure, operate beneficially on the community in which they originate, and in their progress develope some practical advantage, in the form either of scientific discovery or local improvement, which ultimately compensates for public disappointment. While on the other hand, an outlay in foreign countries, if unsuccessful, carries with it no consolation, but is attended with an aggravation of disappointment proportionate to the distance of the scene of action, and the amount of the means employed.

With this exception, the intercourse between the citizens of

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this country and those of Spanish America, has generally been entirely of a commercial character. In the course of this association, many points of collision arising from difference of national character and education have been developed, and the opinions of individuals have varied with the variety of company, into which each one has been thrown. So far as the governments were concerned, there was originally on the part of our merchants little complaint of interference, there being too many sources of exclusive occupation to allow any time for commercial legislation. During the war, commerce was unrestrained adventure. So important were foreign supplies and foreign intercourse to the revolutionary party, that they had no inclination to devise obstructions; and it was not until after the turmoil of actual conflict had in great measure subsided, that the suggestion seems to have occurred, that commerce was a legitimate object of taxation; and that the foreign adventurers became aware of the existence in the government of a new party beside themselves, and those with whom they traded. Since that intervention, there has been a series of annoyances and embarrassments experienced by foreign merchants generally, and those of this country in particular, which would of itself be sufficient to account for the alteration of feeling to which we have referred.

We do not mean to say, that the grievances of a few merchants are in themselves sufficient to stifle natural sympathy, or induce national antipathy. In most instances, merchants have their own successful mode of redress, and commercial embarrassment of this kind will often fail to light the fires of public resentment. But it is when the perception of wilful injustice on the part of a government, both in doing wrong and refusing redress is forced upon us, and when national character is painfully illustrated in the course of commercial intimacy, that disappointment ceases to be unreasonable; and that we may so far forget our romance as to admit, that, although in theory, we ought to be enthusiastic friends, we have seen enough to put an end to the confidence of cordial association. The fact cannot be disputed, that in relation to the Spanish American nations, there has been a universal and unfavorable change of feeling. That with regard to Mexico, our neighbor and most natural friend, the abatement of affection in this country has been most sensible, is equally true. The history of our relations, commercial and diplomatic, conclusively es-

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tablishes this position; and it is with no diminution of kind feeling, so far as abstract principles are involved, but with an earnest wish, that a candid exposition of opinion on these points may have a decided and beneficial effect both at home and abroad, that we refer to this matter now, with the intention of incidentally illustrating it.

It is not our design to present to our readers a detailed exposition of the injuries of which this country and its citizens have a right to complain. We could not do the subject justice, within the limits which are assigned to us. The claims on republican Mexico, though inferior in amount and actual pecuniary importance, involve as much flagrant injustice as ever exasperated the victims of imperial decrees or orders in council. There are many, the narrative of which would be deemed unworthy of credit. They have all, we presume, been made the subject of complaint and intercession on the part of our diplomatic agents, and all, so far as we are informed, are to this hour unsatisfied. We shall not open the account, to call the attention of our readers to the items. It is enough for the specific object we have in view, to point out less selfish sources of disappointment and dislike, and to trace their progress through the domestic history of the republic, and its diplomatic intercourse with us. The state of feeling in this country towards Mexico is peculiar, and more resembles the sadness of wounded affection, than the irritation of wanton or jealous resentment. It has more of sorrow in it than of anger. Such a relation, however contradictory to theory and romance, may easily be accounted for; and, by a reference to recent experience and the results of dispassionate observation, may be proved to be perfectly reasonable. It is with this view, that we refer to the foreign relations of our immediate neighbor, and to the extensive circumstances which have contributed to qualify the feelings of the rest of their fellow men. We do it, and we say this to silence the enthusiast who may cavil at our motives, with a sincere regret, that such a result should have been produced, and with perfect faith in the abstract and practical beauty of a system of distinctive Americanism, raised on the foundation of republican institutions, and cemented by national kindness and good will.

The radical causes of this unfortunate state of feeling on our part, are to be found on every page of the civil history of the new republic. Some of them are interwoven with the defec-

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tive principles of her political institutions; some arise from the moral constitution of the people; some, of a more tangible, though not more effective character, are to be discerned, as we have already intimated, in the occasional collision of the members of the two communities, in the injuries to commercial interests, and in perverse disregard of diplomatic courtesy and national friendliness. To the anomalies in the political institutions of Mexico we had occasion formerly to refer; and slight as some of them apparently are, they constitute a fund of unpleasant objects for the contemplation of their fellow republicans, which has been of great efficacy in producing the change of feeling we have described. The sympathies of the mass of the people of the United States were awakened and kept in activity less by the positive and essential merits of the patriot cause, than by the analogy which was so easily traced between their revolutionary struggle and ours. It may now be a question, whether there was not more poetry than truth in the theory of resemblance; but in the season of enthusiasm, of natural and honorable enthusiasm, the accuracy of the likeness was not material. We saw an indignant people breaking the fetters of colonial tyranny, and it required no wonderful activity of imagination, and implied no extravagance of national vanity to believe, that the example which our ancestors had set was the exciting cause and guiding principle of our Spanish American brethren.

> ———Parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis
> Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
> Agnosco, Scææque amplector limina portæ.

In the delusion which the sight of this partial similitude produced, the points of difference were forgotten, and all the repulsive features of the drama were lost sight of. We did not recollect the accidental impulse given to the revolutionary spirit by events in Europe; the horrors of the conflict, stained by excesses and barbarities unheard of in civilised warfare; the comparative degradation of the patriot cause for a long series of years; we put out of view the irregular character of the contest, rarely rising above the level of *guerilla* combat, and conducted generally without any indication of military ability; we forgot that the scene was one exclusively of war and desolation, and that civil distinction, such as illumined the characters of our Morris and our Franklin, had no existence

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in the dark atmosphere of this wild conflict. There was no one man, raised like the Father of our country, above reproach; no object, like the beautiful peak of Orizava, of untainted and unvarying lustre, for elevated and unwearying contemplation. These were points of dissimilarity, which, though plain enough now, were not seen then, and the resemblance being once believed to be perfect, the sympathy was complete. When the war ceased and independence was acquired, we were further gratified by the avowed imitation of our example in the adoption of a federal form of government, and we all recollect the glow of pleasure and pride which every one felt and acknowledged, when it was ascertained that this course would be adopted by our neighbors. But here the resemblance ceased, and from this period the tide of approving sympathy began to ebb.

Among the incidents of the kind we have alluded to, the anomalous recognition of an exclusive ecclesiastical establishment is unquestionably the most prominent. Of the iron net, with which the energies of this portion of humanity were enveloped, the surest thread was that which ecclesiastical tyranny had woven. It was strengthened by obdurate prejudice, and had become by habit and early education, matter of conscientious obligation. The Viceroy, the Intendant, or any subordinate member of the secular government might forfeit, by acts of folly or oppression, all deference and regard on the part of the colonist; but the priest, as the minister of divine authority and its unquestioned agent to control and absolve, could not. Not only was the clerical domination sustained by the sanction of reward and punishment in a world to come, enforced by solemn pageantry and awful ceremonial, but by the more palpable efficacy of immediate retribution here. The fires of the Inquisition have not been long extinguished in our hemisphere. The ashes are scarcely cold. As long as the unity of despotism was preserved by the concurrent and harmonious operation of secular and ecclesiastical control, so long did the structure of European power stand in unshaken security; but the moment that the affection of the clergy for existing institutions was withdrawn, the gloomy fabric tottered to its fall. The erection of an independent ecclesiastical interest was the most ominous symptom in the revolutionary disease; and as soon as the alliance of the clergy with the patriotic party was ascertained, the catastrophe was within the

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scope of a limited foresight. Unnatural as was this connexion in point of principle, it was most beneficial in its immediate results. The sacred banner of the Virgin, which had led the soldiers of Cortez to conquest, and had floated over many a scene of slaughter and persecution, was for once displayed in a holy cause, and the principles of truth and liberty were proclaimed by intolerance itself. When the conquest was achieved, and the merits of the conquerors were to be graduated, the clergy were unwilling to resign their claim for gratitude, or the influence it necessarily gave them; and their rights, extravagant and pernicious as they are now thought, were tacitly, perhaps willingly, recognised. The equally singular spectacle was then exhibited, of the promulgation of the vital principles of bigotry and conscientious despotism by the neophytes of freedom. The inconsistency gave a jar to the even course of our enthusiastic sympathy, from which it has never recovered. By the third article of the Federal Constitution, the Roman Catholic religion is to be the established religion of the State; and by the hundred and seventy-first article, as if from the apprehension of an unpropitious change of sentiment, it is declared that the former provision is *unalterable*.

The influence of this recognition of hierarchical authority on the condition of the citizens of the Republic, presents an object of most interesting speculation. We believe that it has tended more than any other circumstance, to degrade and to disgrace it; and that religious innovation, had it been contemporaneous with political enfranchisement, would have produced the happiest results. Sound religious sentiment, and we are aware that we utter an opinion far from acceptable in these days of liberalism, operating through individuals on the conduct of government, is an element of national honor and prosperity. But it must be religion 'pure and undefiled.' Our theory rests on the old fashioned doctrines, that humanity needs every mode of control to keep it in the path of moral rectitude, and that the government which is administered by those who acknowledge the obligation of religious duty, and are actuated by no other motives, is the best, and will eventually be the most successful. When the first pacific lawgiver of Rome feigned a heavenly origin for his laws, and divine sanction for their continuance, he manifested a spirit of pure and profound philosophy; and history tells us, that the aspect of a community operated on by religious impulses, and devoted to the performance

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of religious duty, impressed the surrounding barbarians with salutary awe. The classical student will recollect the passage of the most eloquent of Roman annalists, where this effect is described.* Feeble and uncertain as was the religious feeling of antiquity, when contrasted with that which has been developed by the genial influence of revealed truth, it depended on the same principle of human nature,—the sense of dependence on a superintending power. It is a principle far beyond the sneer and sarcasm of infidelity. It is developed in the hymn of the Scottish soldiers on the eve of battle, and in the devotion of the Syrian warriors, who, in the heat of conflict, kneeled and adored the rising sun. Dogmatic theology and religious persecution were alike unknown to the ancient world; and it has been reserved for modern and more enlightened times, to exhibit pure religion deformed by bigotry and intolerance. In republican Mexico, this unhallowed alliance has been attended with its natural consequences, and the essence of Christianity seems to have been sublimed and past away. It might be thought an excess of illiberality, and would unquestionably be unjust, were we to say without qualification, that no such thing as religion is to be found in our sister republic; but we think it would be difficult for the most sagacious enthusiast in the cause of the new communities, to separate from the overwhelming masses of fanaticism and infidelity, more than a very minute portion of pure Christian sentiment. The outward signs are abundant. In 1826, on the festival of San Felipe, the national saint, canonized by act of Congress, the President walked in solemn procession, in company with a gigantic effigy of the Devil; and long since that time, the attention of a stranger was painfully attracted by a human hand exposed at the corner of one of the most crowded streets of Mexico, which had been cut off for sacrilege, and was festering in the public gaze. Religion, purifying and elevating public opinion, may emphatically be said not to exist.

*'Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque, multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et Deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis cœleste numen videretur, eâ pietate omnium imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent: et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui ante, castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem, crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem, totam in cultum versam Deorum, violari ducerent nefas.' Liv. I. 21.

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The direct influence of the clergy rests, however, on constitutional privilege; and the period is yet remote, when that privilege is to be withdrawn. The absolute and relative condition of ecclesiastical authority, appears from a statement in one of the official papers, the title of which we have affixed to this article. In 1827, according to the Report of Don Miguel Ramos de Arispe, there were in orders about eight thousand one hundred and fifty individuals, including both the regular and secular clergy. In 1830, the present Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs estimated the clergy at seven thousand four hundred, who, according to his classification, were divided as follows: three thousand two hundred parish clergy, six hundred attached to the colleges and schools, one thousand seven hundred friars, and about one thousand nine hundred nuns. In the report the secretary says, that the number had been very much diminished during the preceding year, in consequence of the vacancy of nearly all the episcopal sees, and the difficulty of procuring regular investiture. The small difference between the numbers at the two periods to which we have referred, has been to us a matter of surprise; as in the interval, the expatriation of the Spanish residents occurred, of whom a large portion were attached to some one or other of the orders of monks and parish priests. It never, however, has been asserted that the ascendency of the clergy is to be mainly attributed to their numerical strength; for by a comparison with any one of the exclusively Catholic countries of Europe, and especially with Spain, it is evident that in this respect Mexico is in a far better condition than has been generally supposed. In 1820, the population of Spain was estimated at twelve millions; of whom about one hundred and sixty thousand were devoted to the church. In Mexico, a vast influence is indirectly exercised by means of the great amount of landed property held in mortmain; and it is that influence, sustained by gorgeous and imposing ceremonial and sacred pageants, daily and hourly exhibited, by the control of auricular confession and other assumed attributes of the church, operating on a great and unenlightened population, which degrades and dishonors it. By assuming the direction of conscience, it seems to have destroyed the moral tone of the community; and by usurped powers of absolution and remission, has given a different and local direction to individual responsibility. By its continuance, dependent on the partial illumination of those over whom it is extended, intellect-

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ual as well as moral improvement is retarded, and by its fatal tendency, it deadens the purest and holiest of human impulses, and covers with its pestilential waves, a soil destined for noble and beneficial culture. On the part of those who advocate as a point of expediency, this strict ecclesiastical control, the only practical suggestion which is made, is, that the interests of education are promoted exclusively by the clergy in the seminaries under their superintendence; and that public charity, and the encouragement and support of asylums and hospitals, depend wholly on them. That in the former particular, the exclusive interests of the clergy in Spanish America deserve consideration, we have already incidentally denied. We freely admit, that in the cause of charity and benevolence, and in ministering to the necessities of their fellow men, the Catholic monks and secular priests have been active laborers. In every city of the Republic, the traveller finds noble institutions, endowed by clerical munificence, for the reception of the sick and employment of the poor; and he will see the aged and venerable friars performing the humble duties of hospital attendants, with anxious and honorable assiduity. But after all, the promotion of such objects is far from being an equivalent for the other incidents to hierarchical thraldom; and the partial alleviation of the occasional sufferings of humanity, but slightly compensates for the general torpor of religious servitude. It is besides, incompetent for the zealous advocates of intolerance, and in a measure, persecution, to take credit for charity and good will to their fellow men. They belong not to the same dispensation. Beautiful as is the theory of the ministration of the special agents of the Almighty, in the work of charity, and great as may have been the benefits secured in former times, in this particular, by the monasteries and convents in Mexico, the practical advantage is now, we believe, far from considerable. In the city of Puebla, the second in the Republic, (we now speak from actual observation,) in the year 1827, in two of the largest and most commodious of the public hospitals, under the care of the Franciscan Monks, where every convenience and comfort were gratuitously supplied by the directors, not a single inmate was to be found, while the streets of the city and suburbs were swarming with squalid wretches, deformed with every variety of loathsome disease, and depending for subsistence on the *limosna*, which their unceasing supplications could procure. It is idle and irrational, therefore, to

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pretend, that the sole remedy for pauperism and misery is to be supplied by the ecclesiastical institutions.

Before leaving this topic, we will avail ourselves of the opportunity of paying a just tribute to the clergy of Mexico, for what in one particular they have done. During the horrors of the Revolution, whenever the storm of war, impelled by either party, approached the large cities of the Republic, and threatened them with pillage and desolation, and the noble institutions they contained with destruction, the powerful arm of the church was stretched forth, and its irresistible influence exerted to preserve them. No considerable city, except Guanajuato in 1810, and then the assailants were led by one claiming clerical authority, was violated during twelve years of civil war. This honorable result is due, as we have intimated, to the exertions of the clergy; and we cheerfully consent to allow all possible qualification of hostility to ecclesiastical supremacy which it can effect. Besides this isolated circumstance, we know of nothing in the least calculated to reconcile us to the consequence we have deplored. It has always struck us as remarkable, that as a body of men, the regular clergy of New Spain should have had so little honorable distinction of any kind. Devoted to seclusion and solitary occupation, it would seem reasonable, that there should be found among them men of extensive and profound learning, and scholars, in the most elevated acceptation of the word. And yet we never remember to have heard or read of one. In walking through the beautiful gardens and dim corridors of the great Mexican convents, where the voice of the surrounding world is effectually excluded, where no sound is heard but the murmuring of the fountains, and where every object reposing in undisturbed serenity is consecrated to private and solemn meditation, the first and most natural suggestion is,—how fit a place for study!—how suitable a spot for profound and undisturbed reflection!—and yet of the thousands who have lived and died within these walls, there is no one who has left a trace of intellectual exertion, or a vestige of useful labor for the benefit of the world. In one monastery, where, on crossing the threshold, the guide in a whisper informs the stranger, that within its limits the human voice is never heard, and the pious monks worship God in silence, as no sound arises but the echo of occasional footsteps, who can refrain from thinking how useless has all this seclusion proved, and how little consistent with christian usefulness and

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christian piety is this unnatural solitude; how much gloom must hang round the cell of the devout, and how much bitter disappointment and passion must agitate the bosom of him who from his solitude looks back wistfully on the world? Fancy has hallowed the cell of the anchorite, but in sober truth no one will deny, that piety loses its fairest charms by seclusion. It is a principle intended for wide and extensive influence, to be seen, to be felt, to be loved, not like the beautiful orange groves of the convent gardens, to be planted remote from the gaze and admiration of mankind. Monachism in its least repulsive form, where it is adorned by scholarship and intellectual accomplishments, is not an agreeable object of contemplation, but where, as in Mexico, it presents a wide field of utter desolation, it is sad and melancholy beyond expression.

In religion so illustrated and so administered, the impartial world will never find that element of national prosperity and honor, which the framers of the Mexican constitution seem to have had in view. When a purer religious feeling will be generated, we will not pretend even to conjecture. A painful process must first be undergone. The work of spiritual emancipation has begun and is now going on, and is characterized by the usual gradations of feeling and opinion. Unmitigated superstition is yielding to general infidelity, and in the conflict between the bigot and the freethinker, morality is forgotten, and the beneficent spirit of our religion is forced to suspend its sway. The change cannot be sudden, and how gradual it will be, it is impossible to say. The ecclesiastical domination must be broken, the indirect influence of the clergy qualified, and at last we shall see the force of public opinion in the form of religious licentiousness, or in some less repulsive guise, operating on the legislation of the Republic, and compelling an alteration of the unalterable clause of her charter.

We have occupied too much space with our cursory observations on this source of foreign disaffection, to say more than a passing word on the moral condition of the community, as illustrated by those who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. It is a subject on which we have no inclination to dilate. We do not believe there is a capital of equal size in the world, entitled to more ignominious distinction in point of general immorality, than the city of Mexico. Public opinion, so far from checking, encourages license. Domestic

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virtue in high society is a flower which rarely blooms; gallantry is systematized; every lady of rank has her regular and avowed admirer, and conjugal infidelity finds excuse and provocation in libertinism and neglect. Of the varied checks imposed by Providence upon the degrading passions of our nature, the highest in the scale is religion, the next is female influence. It was their combination which gave to chivalry its poetical, and which gives to true civilization its actual grace. As a chastener of the morbid propensities of humanity, the love of woman, using the word in its most exalted sense, is a moral agent of surpassing power; and as it often exists without the other element of our constitution to which we have just referred, so it may often without its aid effect the most salutary restraint. The lover who invests his mistress, if not with the attributes of perfection, at least with the charms which approach nearest to them, and who looks to the forfeiture of her pure affection as the severest of misfortunes, has a motive to virtue which rarely fails. The husband who regards the wife of his bosom, not only with love but with pride, has the same impulse in a different, but not less persuasive form. Where the level of female influence is low, where it is acknowledged only as a minister of sensual appetite, and where the female character is divested of the romantic purity which belongs to it, and made like Don Juan's successive heroines, only the object of licentious passion, we despair of witnessing moral beauty in any form. Domestic society has been beautifully described by a contemporary writer,* as 'the seminary of social affections, the cradle of sensibility, where the first elements are acquired of that tenderness and humanity which cement mankind together;' without female ascendency, this pure association can have no existence, and in its absence, we discern one of the darkest moral blemishes of the Mexican community. Besides this general tinge, there are various shades in the picture to which we can merely allude. Gambling is the peculiar and besetting sin, and is practised to an extent and with a refinement scarcely conceivable. From the humblest *rancho* to the largest city of the Republic, the ruling passion is developed in one form or another. '*Mother Monte*' reigns a monarch over willing sub-

* Rev. Robert Hall, of Bristol, England, whose eloquent works have recently, and for the first time, been collected and published at Andover, Massachusetts.

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jects, and through every gradation, from the paltry *quartillo* lottery hawked about the squares and *portales* of the capital to the magnificent gambling houses and cock-pits of San Augustin, we may trace this corroding poison, destroying the very elements of public virtue and happiness. Some idea of the extent of this mode of licentiousness may be formed, when we are told, that immediately before the great festival which is annually celebrated at San Augustin de las Cuevas, the price of doubloons is considerably enhanced; and we are sustained in our assertion in regard to the misdirection of public opinion by the notorious fact, that the most distinguished men in the nation, some of them high in office, the prominent candidates for the most important offices, are to be seen participating in the brutal excitement of the 'Plaza de Gallos.' It is a question which we will leave to the enthusiast to answer as he pleases, whether individuals tainted with such propensities and addicted to such pursuits can be the safe depositaries of public trusts; whether the failure of the political experiment, made with such instruments is to be wondered at; and whether disgust or disappointment on the part of the rest of the world, is matter of reasonable complaint. It is a trite but instructive truth, sanctioned by all experience, that private and public virtue are inseparable, and the question long since asked by the poet has been fully answered;

> 'When was public virtue to be found,
> Where private was not? Can he love the whole,
> Who loves not part? He be the nation's friend,
> Who is, in truth, the friend of no man there?
> Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
> Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
> That country, if at all, must be beloved?'

For ourselves, we trust no morality that is not founded on a stern sense of religious obligation; and we deny the possibility of permanent political prosperity, unsustained by individual integrity in every relation, private as well as public, familiar as well as general. That there are in Mexico many individuals of high moral worth and unblemished domestic character, it is not our wish nor intention to deny. Our remarks are of course general in their application, and our theory, founded on an attentive consideration of the whole subject, is, that, with the numerous examples of virtue that may be pointed out, and with all the qualification which they may afford, there is a radical

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defect in the moral constitution of the community, which we most cordially lament. It is their supposed superiority in this respect, that has occasioned our earnest wishes for the permanent success of the present dominant party in Mexico. We believe the moral strength of the party which have administered the government since the revolution of Jalapa in 1829, to be unquestionably greater than that of their opponents, and we rely on that powerful agent to secure their ultimate triumph.

It is to the concurrent operation of all these causes, with many others of less importance, that we attribute the diminution of good will to our sister republic on the part of the great body of our fellow citizens. In the dark blemishes of religious intolerance and moral debasement, the one necessarily blending with the other, our neighbors may find the secret of that estrangement, of which they sometimes so bitterly complain. We hope that in each particular the hour of change is at hand, and, though the dawn but glimmers, we indulge the pleasure of tracing in these the faint streaks of light, the approaching day of genuine religion and morality. Our business, however, is rather to dwell on the present and the past than to speculate on the possibility and probable period of future improvement; and we hope we have sustained our assertion, that the unfavorable judgment which the world generally, and our countrymen especially, have been compelled to form, is neither unkind nor unjust.

We have time to say but a word on the diplomatic relations of this country with Mexico. It is a subject of great and increasing interest, and one to which on some future occasion we may call the attention of our readers in all its detail. We refer to it now, having already transgressed our limits, merely with a view to remove a false impression, which has been generally made. Our diplomatic intercourse with Spanish America has unquestionably been unfortunate; and the facts are strongly contradictory of theory, that with but one, and that a second rate republic, which has since been awfully convulsed by intestine feuds, have the agents of our government been able easily to negotiate treaties; and that the great project of promoting harmony of feeling and action on points of common interest, proved utterly abortive through the enmity of some, and the lukewarmness of all the Spanish American authorities. It is, we are aware, a common opinion that this estrangement is to be attributed to the intrigues and machinations of European

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and especially British agents; and that there is a certain ill-defined foreign influence unceasingly working to our injury, which affords a convenient explanation of all international difficulties. We deny the facts on which this theory is founded. On the minds of inexperienced men, like those who have directed the administration of affairs in the new republics, the influence of a great community like Great Britain necessarily and naturally operates, and we have no doubt, that its agents for obvious reasons have endeavored to maintain it; but we have yet to be convinced, that the diplomatic representatives of our great rival carry general instructions to foment discord and foster jealousy, and that the first and great object of their missions is to make the new governments believe, that their prosperity depends on their persevering hatred to their elder republican sister. We say this in no excess of favor towards British tactics, but in the absence of all evidence to support the opposite theory.

If the British government have acquired great or even unbounded influence on the affairs of Spanish America, it is a result so natural, that we are not disposed to complain of it; and it by no means follows, that it is an exclusive, or, as respects ourselves, an injurious influence. So far as we are informed, it has been the means of gaining no important preference in negotiation. It has effected no exclusion; it has wrought no exemption on one side, or imposition on the other; it has secured no substantial benefit to a Briton, which an American has lost. When our late Minister to Columbia was involved in difficulty at the capital of that Republic, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* fell under an equal weight of suspicion and displeasure; and with less apparent provocation, was the object of as much aggravated and deliberate insult. When Mr. Poinsett, in the early part of his negotiations at Mexico, urged the signature of a commercial treaty on principles of reciprocity between the contracting parties, and equality of privilege with regard to the rest of the world, the only obstacle was a preference, which it was desired to give, not to Great Britain, but to the republics of Spanish origin. In the treaty signed previously by the British Ministers, a provision to this effect had been admitted, and the only subject of complaint on our part was the reluctance expressed by the Mexican negotiators to give us a preference over England, whom they naturally regarded as a useful ally, and from whom they had received substantial favors. When in the year 1826, the executive

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authority of Mexico, by an act of as high-handed tyranny as the annals of commercial grievance record, suddenly raised the valuation of *mantas*, or coarse cotton goods, so as to impose an additional duty of fifty per cent., the injury affected with equal severity the European and American merchants, and the remonstrances of the British diplomatic agent were more than moderately indignant. In short, we have never been able to define to our minds this unbounded transatlantic control, which has been supposed to exist, or to trace it in any substantive benefit or privilege, that it has secured. When we read in the journals of the day, that on the occasion of the death of the late Duke of York, the Mexican public authorities clad themselves in mourning and commemorated the event with every sign of national woe, we smile at the absurdity and bad taste of the exhibition, but we do not see in it an omen of pernicious foreign ascendency. Those who for want of more appropriate subjects of speculation, harass themselves by turning such mole-hills into mountains, might be reminded, that in one of our own commercial cities, on the death of the King of England, a number of newspaper printers and ship-masters paid a public tribute of respect to the consular representative of the British government in that place, and incidentally, of regret for the loss he was bound to deplore. We presume an inference of baneful foreign influence would be as fair in one case as in the other.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that Great Britain has no decided influence in Mexican affairs. We are ready to concede, that she has more than any other nation, and that were the allies of the new republic to be graduated, England would stand higher on the scale than we do. We are even willing to go one step further, and to say, that because, on account of circumstances with which our readers are well acquainted, such as the loans and mining investments, it is natural, therefore, it ought to be so. But we do not believe that all or any of our difficulties with the new States of America, are to be attributed to the machinations of European agents, and are disposed to give some credit to the friendly expressions more than once used in Parliament, by distinguished members of the late British ministry.*

* We particularly refer to the speech of Sir R. Peel, in the debate of the 20th of May, 1830, on the petition of the merchants of Liverpool.

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We have thus endeavored to define our feelings towards our sister republic, and to indicate the causes which have produced them. Points of essential dissimilarity resulting from peculiarities of education and discipline, dark blemishes on their political charters, subjects of accidental collision, have all combined to produce the abatement of affection on our part which we now deplore. Much as we regret the state of feeling we have described, and widely as it differs from the cordial sympathy we once hoped to feel, it is highly important that those who have the guidance of our foreign policy should fully realize it. Let our agents to the Spanish American governments be directed to attend exclusively to the legitimate objects of their missions, and to act upon the safe principles of ordinary and honest negotiation, without reliance upon sympathies and affections which, as they will discover, have no existence. What they have a right to claim, let them demand with the decision and dignity suited to the country they represent, and to the justice of the cause they advocate. Let there be no diplomatic affectation of manœuvre and intrigue. We are inclined to think that technical diplomacy, with all its tricks and subtleties, has gone out of fashion all over the world. We are certain, that it will disgracefully fail if it should be attempted in our intercourse with the American communities. If our influence in Mexico, for instance, be small, it is little worth the sacrifice to attempt to increase it by associations with partisans of any class, or by useless meddling in the turmoils of local politics. We may hope, not unreasonably, that fairer seasons are approaching, when prejudice and error will be removed, genuine national friendship appreciated, and proper national associations formed ;— when our neighbors of Mexico will cease to view the equipment of an additional frigate with alarm, and a military movement on our Indian frontier with jealousy. They may be assured, that there is yet much latent good-will which can easily be developed. Let their moral and intellectual improvement be such as in times of permanent tranquillity we hope it will be, let the odious features of their constitution be obliterated, and let their statesmen evince a disposition to act on the principles of ordinary justice and national comity, and they will find in their northern neighbors sincere and zealous friends. The despised and rejected theory of republican co-operation may then be realized. We may not see that consummation, but we hope that the belief is not unreasonable, that it will be seen by those who are to come after us.

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ART. III.—*Economy of Athens.*

1. *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, vier Bücher.* Von AUGUST BOECKH. *Mit einundzwanzig Inschriften.*
2. *The Public Economy of the Athenians. Four Books.* By AUGUSTUS BOECKH. In two volumes. Berlin.

The careful contemplation of antiquity awakens a sentiment of admiration, that so much was accomplished under the imperfect forms of the early republics. Time can never efface the interest which mankind will take in the history of the nation, which first conceived the idea of intrusting the supreme power to the people. The democracy of Athens, with all the imperfections of every part of its public service, with the gross abuses attending its finances, and the reckless corruption which finally turned the elective franchise into a source of personal revenue, yet maintains its dignity in the eyes of the world; for it was there, that the elements of civil liberty were first called into successful and honorable action.

We are not the blind admirers of the Athenian commonwealth. No tongue can adequately praise many of the results of that State; and it would also be difficult fitly to display the deficiencies in its organization, and the gross injustice of its foreign policy. Our own confederacy does not more surpass the Grecian in the extent of territory, over which its liberties are diffused, than it does in the excellence of the details of its laws. The tendency of our institutions is to leave every thing to find its natural level, to throw no obstacles in the way of the free progress of honest industry, to melt all the various classes of society into one mass, to extend the rights of equal citizenship with unqualified liberality, and to break down every thing like a privileged order in the State. The Athenian commonwealth was, on the contrary, eminently artificial in its character; it conceded with a chary hand the advantages of citizenship to the strangers resident on its soil. The franchise of the State was, mainly, an inherited dignity; the government was after all a species of multitudinous aristocracy, where the legislators by birth-right, though numerous, were yet limited, and political power was in truth vested in the hands of a privileged order, which consumed what it did not produce. To this circumstance are to be attributed the greatest abuses in ancient Attica. The self-same principles in human nature, which in England protect the hierarchy and the nobility, pro-

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duced in Athens the public festivals at the common cost, and led the multitude to get their living by enacting laws in the assembly, or interpreting them in the halls of judicature.

The student, who attempts to look minutely into the secrets of the classic world, is baffled at every effort. The accounts are almost always imperfect, sometimes contradictory; and the ignorance of the inquirer can often be exchanged only for doubt. He listens to an echo, that comes but faintly from centuries so remote. Though many parts of Grecian history are preserved in the clearest and most graphic sketches, yet the interior of a Grecian State can only be described in its leading features. The picture is exhibited in a dim and wavering light; and can we wonder, that so different views have been taken of it? Is it strange, that the scholar has invested Greece with all the most brilliant colors which imagination can lend? That the glories of Marathon and Platææ have shed a lustre over centuries, when patriotism was nearly extinct, and devotedness to the country had given way to an engrossing selfishness? The mind has been so filled with the sublime productions of Grecian genius in the arts, that attention has been diverted from the consideration of the ordinary concerns of life.

To this cause, may in part be referred the remarkable fact, that while the world is full of books upon ancient Greece, its history, as a whole, has never yet been worthily told. Winckelman has, indeed, in his great work, embodied almost all that can be gleaned, respecting the history of its fine arts; but the history of the literature of Greece remains yet to be written; and the infinite number of volumes, which have been published respecting it, have done no more than furnish materials, which yet remain to be united. May we not say the same of its political history? Men have hitherto made ancient history the vehicle of communicating useful lessons to despots, or inculcating a superficial knowledge of national revolutions upon the young. By far the most elaborate English work on Grecian history, is that of Mitford; but unfortunately Mitford wrote as a partisan. We do not blame him, for exhibiting the Athenian multitude in such attitudes as it had chosen for itself; but we censure him, because he systematically misrepresents the personal characters of its leaders. The heroes and statesmen of the democracy, the favorites of the multitude, are always painted by him in the worst

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colors, for which any pretence can be found in the slander of their enemies; while he is ever ready to invent excuses for the leaders of the aristocracy. There was evil enough at Athens, and truth demands its exposure; but, after all, virtue is a quality, which belongs to no particular party exclusively; and we confess, that in reading Mitford, our indignation is often excited, and our wonder also, that the bitterness of party prejudice should still prevail in the delineations of antiquity; that the fires of the ancient factions, which have been slumbering in the ashes of centuries, should in this distant age blaze up anew under the tread of the historian.

The work of which we purpose to give some account, merits in a high degree the praise of impartiality. Its author was neither dazzled by the splendors, nor deluded by the factions of Attica; and the contributions which he has made to the stock of knowledge on the subjects, which he has discussed, have been highly valued in Europe. The French already have a translation; and there is also an English version by a member of Christ Church, Cambridge.

Indeed Mr. Boeckh has displayed immense erudition and care in this elaborate treatise on the Athenian finances. It is one of those works, which best illustrate the peculiar excellence of the Germans in critical researches. There is not a word of vague declamation from beginning to end. No subject is avoided because it is difficult, nor neglected because it is minute. Instead of theories we have a series of facts, selected from the whole circle of classic literature. Almost every author is made to contribute something; the orators most of all; and in this way, the author succeeds in throwing light upon many subjects which have hitherto been avoided as impracticable. Nothing seems to have escaped the patient labors of this distinguished Hellenist. Every hint, from which information could be extracted, every passage, from which an inference could be wrung, is made the subject of consideration; and in this way, a vast deal of information is collected, illustrating the ordinary concerns of business in the best days of Athens.

Yet with all Mr. Boeckh's assiduous industry, we cannot conceal, that his researches have often been baffled by the want of sufficient exact *data*. He has done all that was possible; but to represent life, as it was in the best days of the city of Minerva, imagination has yet to fill up many an outline; and the jests of the comic writers, and the anecdotes of the lovers

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of marvels, though fruitful sources of inference, tempt curiosity without fully satisfying it.

A reference to Attica, recalls all our classic associations. Attention is at once directed

> 'Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
> Built nobly; pure the air, and light the soil;
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence.'

It would seem to us, as if there the passion for gain had been lost in the strife for glory; as though no avarice but that of praise had been there domesticated. Who asks, out of what fund the Parthenon was built? Who inquires into the cost of its sculptures? Who is curious to know the income of Socrates, and at what rates of interest his little patrimony may have been lent? Who demands, if the Athenians too had a tariff? Who wishes to ascertain how much would have constituted an independent fortune in the days of Lycurgus, the Athenian financier?

And yet in Athens, as in Boston, commerce was active, and manufactures not neglected; houses were built to let; and though there were no joint-stock companies, yet insurance was not unknown; and though there were no banks of circulation, yet money-lenders abounded. Following the guidance of Boeckh, we intend to enter into some homely statements respecting life and business at Athens. Our inquiries are not now into the eloquence of Demosthenes or the bravery of Phocion; neither into the productions of the Grecian fine arts, nor the monuments of Grecian intelligence. We enter rather upon such minute inquiries, as can neither bridle the imagination, nor refine the taste, but may yet throw some light on an important chapter in the history of the human race. Contentment with our own political condition will certainly be increased by a near contemplation of the condition of the free States of antiquity.

Financial skill is reckoned among the moderns as a great and necessary accomplishment in a statesman; and the science of political economy has swallowed up almost every thing besides. The ancients did not make of it a separate science. Their treatises upon politics touch upon it but incidentally; and therefore information respecting the condition of ancient finances must be gathered piecemeal, and by inductions. Little direct information has been preserved.

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The resources of Athens in its earlier days can scarcely merit attention; and after the loss of its independence, the inquiry would be less productive of interest or profitable instruction. Our views will chiefly have reference to the time following the Persian wars, and before the aggrandizement of Alexander.

Silver and gold furnish the criterion, by which the price of commodities is estimated. Previously to entering upon any details, it is desirable to form some idea of the abundance of the precious metals in Greece.

In the early period of Grecian history, the quantity of the precious metals increased but slowly. But between the age of Solon and Demosthenes, such a change was wrought, and the value of money had diminished so much, that prices were affected in proportion of one to five; a change, rapid beyond any thing in modern history.

The amount of the circulating medium of Greece increased with her connection with the East. Gold was rare in the earlier periods; and in the days of Crœsus, could hardly be purchased anywhere in Hellas. It was more abundant in Africa and in Asia. Who has not heard of the golden sands of Colchis, and the glittering streams of Pactolus? Who remains ignorant of the fables respecting Midas, and the amiable liberality as well as the hoarded treasures of Crœsus? The master of Celænæ, a town near the sources of the Mæander, himself possessed about fifteen millions of dollars in gold. The booty of Cyrus in Asia Minor, was incalculably great. The revenues of Darius, after defraying all the expenses of the provinces and their satraps, amounted annually to $12,191,400. India was ever famous for its wealth in valuable ores; and the story of the busy ants, that dug for gold, is but an allegory, that proves the productiveness of her mines.

The circulating medium did not increase in proportion with the quantity of bullion. The royal treasury was filled with massive bars; the temples and the public coffers were provided by a prudent superstition or the grasping nature of despotism with immense treasures in the precious metals, either unwrought or formed into splendid works of art. The coinage was limited by the sums, which the habit of commerce seemed to require for its purposes. Even in Greece immense sums lay in deposite. The citadel of Athens had a strong box with 87,300 dollars in cash, besides many vessels of silver and gold. The treasures of Delphi are notorious.

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Every one has heard of the pious offerings of Crœsus. The rapacity of a later age could withstand the temptation no longer; and when the hands of sacrilege were laid upon the treasures of Delphi, the offerings of Crœsus alone yielded $3,600,000.

The Persian king entered on the invasion of Greece with one thousand two hundred camels laden with money and precious things. These of course became the prey of the victors. The Phocians, as we have already hinted, seized on the wealth of Delphi, and coined from it $9,000,000.

The amount of the currency of Greece received further additions from the system of bribery practised by Philip; but after the conquest of Asia by Alexander, coin flowed in upon Europe in still broader channels. The treasures which he found collected in the Persian empire were very considerable. The amount taken at Susa and Persis was $45,000,000, at Pasargada $5,400,000, and at Persepolis $108,000,000. The whole sum collected at Ecbatana, is said by Strabo, no contemptible authority, to have amounted to $162,000,000.

Alexander's liberality corresponded with this immense wealth. The expenses of his table were $1,500 daily; and he paid the debts of his soldiers, amounting to about $8,883,000. The funeral ceremonies of Hephæstion are said to have cost $10,800,000. The grateful monarch deemed $720,000 no unreasonable appropriation to further the investigations of Aristotle in Natural History; and it was an offer of $900,000, which Phocion refused. His yearly revenue from Asia was $27,000,000; and he left a treasure of no more than $45,000,000.

His satraps must have been very rich. Harpalus, who fled to Athens, was estimated to have amassed $4,500,000, though he declared in Greece, that he had but $674,000.

The wealth of the successors of Alexander was equally extraordinary. A single festival of the Ptolemies cost $2,000,000; and, at the lowest computation, the treasure left by Ptolemy Philadelphus amounted to the enormous sum of $166,000,000. Some estimate it four times as high. It is difficult to believe the account, but not impossible. Egypt was at that time the richest country in the world; and had almost a monopoly of the commerce with the East. Nor is it half so strange, as that the debt of a modern nation should have reached the immense sum of four thousand millions of dollars. The revenue from the customs in Egypt was $13,000,000 annually. The

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annual taxes in Cœlo-Syria, Phenicia, Judea, and Samaria, were farmed out for more than $14,000,000.

These general statements* tend to show, that the precious metals existed in very great abundance in the Levant. It is to be remembered, however, that the custom of collecting great masses of these treasures, tended to prevent the proportionate increase of the circulating medium. So many temples, so many cities, so many provincial satraps, so many despotic princes withdrew the coin from circulation to hoard it in deposits, that prices were not reduced in the degree, which we might have inferred from the mention of such enormous sums. Great quantities also existed in the shape of works of art; and the shrines of many a Grecian Deity were adorned with images and costly vessels wrought out of 'barbaric gold.'

The amount of the coinage of Athens has been variously estimated. The basis of calculation is the weight of such pieces of money as have been preserved. We find that as near an approximation as we can make, gives fifteen cents for the *drachma*, and of course for the *mina* $15, and $900 for the *talent*. This is the basis, which we follow. It is a little more than the one usually given in the English school-books; yet a little less than the calculations of Barthelemy would authorize. An *obolus* is of course taken to be two cents and a half.

The Greeks reckoned according to *drachmas;* as the French according to *francs*. The usual idea has been, as to the difference between ancient and modern prices, that one dollar was worth in the best days of Athens what ten dollars are now. Boeckh makes the difference no greater than as one to three. We confess, we think that he has not reduced it unreasonably. If prices at modern Athens or at Naples are compared with the statement, which we shall presently give, the view of our Hellenist will probably be confirmed.

The Athenian coinage, to which we have alluded, was the one established by Solon. Before his time the *drachma* was worth more. Out of seventy-two and a half *drachmas* of the old coin, he made one hundred. In this change, creditors as well as debtors acquiesced. By the way, Solon was the first, who

* In the West, the silver mines near Carthagena in Spain employed forty thousand hands, in mining and smelting, and yielded about $2,625 daily. Lusitania and the Asturias yielded 20,000 pounds of gold annually in good years. The gold mines of Dalmatia, in the time of Nero, produced fifty pounds daily.

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proposed the abolition of imprisonment for debt. He carried the measure too. Many years passed, before the same improvement was introduced in the Roman State. At length the Roman legislation also was reformed. Our modern codes have long retained a feature, wholly at variance with the justice and philanthropy, which ought to be the basis of popular institutions. It would seem, that all the lessons, which may be learned of the ancient commonwealth, have not yet been exhausted.

The value of gold is more liable to change than that of silver. Its ancient worth, as compared with silver, varied with times and places. The relative value was usually considered to be as ten to one. This proportion is surprisingly low; and other more exact statements are given. In the time of Plato, gold, compared with silver, was as twelve to one; Herodotus says as thirteen to one. In the Bosphorus, in the age of Demosthenes it was as fourteen to one. Among the Romans, in the year 564 of Rome, that is, 190 years before Christ, one third of a sum of money paid by the Ætolians was taken in gold, at the rate of one for ten, to the grievance of the Ætolians. Under Cæsar, the gold from Gaul reduced the rate to one eight and thirteen-fourteenths; while in the fifth century of the Christian era, it was as high as one to eighteen.

The price of gold advanced in Greece with the progress of business. It was much used in making remittances. Soldiers were paid in it; and Sparta hoarded vast sums of gold, never to be expended but for warlike purposes.

Gold coin was early in use. Crœsus coined the golden *stater*. Darius, the son of Hystaspis, coined *darics* of pure gold, equal in weight to thirty cents in silver, and current for three dollars. Five therefore made a *mina;* three hundred a *talent*. The golden *darics* were favorite coins in Hellas.

Some of the Grecian States had a debased coinage for domestic circulation. Even the Athenians once engaged in that unholy process, but it was soon put down by public opinion; and the coin of Athens maintained in commerce its high character for intrinsic value.

The nearest approximation we have been able to make to the square contents of Attica, would allow to that country, including Salamis and Helena, no more than from 640 to 656 square geographical miles. The ancients called Athens the most populous city of Greece; it is interesting to inquire what was the number of the inhabitants of the district.

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The population was composed of three separate classes; citizens, resident strangers, and slaves. Of the former, the average number was 20,000; who had the franchise of citizens. Allowing the proportion of 4½ to include the women and minors, we shall have 90,000 as the number of the free population of Attica. A similar mode of calculation gives 45,000 for the number of free strangers, whom business or pleasure had domiciliated at Athens. The census taken by Demetrius gives 400,000 slaves. As we can aim only at an approximation, and as the round number shows a want of strict exactness, we may call the number of slaves 365,000. Thus 90,000 citizens, 45,000 sojourners, and 365,000 slaves, in all 500,000 souls, occupied the soil of Attica.

The free population was to the slave about as one to four. And in this fact we have the key to the very singular phenomena exhibited in Athenian history. The public affairs of Athens were managed by the majority of the citizens. The aristocracy became at last very unwilling to appear in the popular assemblies, and were voted down whenever they did appear. In this way, some six or eight thousand very poor men came to exercise the control over Athenian affairs. Masters of the public treasury and of the power of levying taxes, they voted to themselves what sums they could; till at last every poor citizen made politics his trade; and deemed it but fair to be compensated for participating in legislation. As there was no representation, and business was conducted as in our town meetings, the plausible idea of paying for legislation opened the way to a support for every citizen; the rich naturally declined the service, and made no claim to the emoluments. The poor citizens, though very numerous, yet still a limited number in comparison with the whole population of Athens, obtained a monopoly of the legislation and its wages. There is nothing like this in the annals of any other country.

The great disproportion between the free and the slave population in Attica is surprising; but is corroborated by circumstantial as well as direct evidence. Every body was served by slaves in Attica; even the poorer citizens owned some miserable drudge. The manufactories were supplied by them; the rich had throngs of attendants; even some philosophers were not content with less than ten. The father of Demosthenes employed more than fifty in his business, besides

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the female slaves of his house. Plato says expressly, that rich men often had fifty slaves.

It was this immense number of slaves, which left the free citizens of Attica no possible occupation but politics. They were literally crowded out of every other pursuit. Thus the Athenians lived either on the revenues derived from their possessions, or by serving in the courts and popular assemblies, or by pursuing some of those noble arts, by which genius was exercised, and the popular pride cultivated and gratified.

But how were these 500,000 souls distributed over the soil of Attica? Athens had 10,000 houses. Fourteen souls to a house would seem too large an allowance; and yet many of the houses were built on purpose to be occupied by several families. The mining district was also very populous. The harbor of the Piræus was likewise crowded with tenements. Allow then for the mining district 20,000, for the city 140,000, for the harbor 40,000, and we shall have left for the country 300,000 souls; or about 500 to the square geographical mile. The number seems incredibly large; it is still more difficult to disbelieve the estimate. We must remember, that Attica was the head of a number of States, the mistress of the sea, and the territory in which wealth, manufactures and business were concentrated.

The soil of Attica was not unproductive. The mild climate ripened all excellent fruits; the arts of agriculture were greatly advanced; the oil of Attica is famous even to this day; and its classic hills, of which every peak has been the favorite haunt of a God, or the chosen theme of a poet, are still crowned with the circling rows of olives;

'And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields.'

Attica did not abound in horses. At the battle of Marathon there was no cavalry. The fisheries were good; the mines of silver productive; the quarries of marble, which the poet describes as still gleaming in the glare of the long days of summer, were even then so highly esteemed as to constitute an important article of export.

The mechanic arts were originally in low repute. None of the ancient nobility were willing to engage in them; but the mechanics afterwards often gained great power in the commonwealth, and Cleon the tanner was among the favored successors of Pericles. Yet manufactures were liberally encouraged. The greatest freedom of competition was permitted;

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strangers thronged to Attica to engage in business, and their industry at length furnished a large amount of exports. Prices were kept up by the great foreign demand, and the high rates of interest exacted by the capitalist rendered large profits necessary. Arms, various kinds of cutlery, lamps and cloths were largely exported.

Attica was thus enabled to procure from abroad the products, which her own soil could not furnish in sufficient abundance. There was no law to prohibit the exportation of specie. On the contrary, the exceeding purity of the Attic coinage made it often useful; the want of bills of exchange frequently made it necessary. The harbor of Athens was doubtless very much such a busy place as the harbor of New-York. In the Piræus, as in the harbor of our own splendid commercial emporium, the produce of every clime was to be found. The dominion of the sea, says Xenophon, secured to the Athenians the sweets of the world. Nor would the Athenian ships in point of size have suffered from a comparison with the New-York packets. Demosthenes speaks of one, which carried three hundred men, besides its cargo, slaves, and complement of sailors.

That honorable employment, which has such an absorbing charm to the lovers of intelligence, that trade, which is emphatically THE TRADE, did not flourish in the days of yore in the city of Minerva; and a *good* book was a thing utterly unknown to those who wept over the sad story of Thucydides, or exulted in the narrative of the Father of History. There was indeed a book-maker in Athens; and books were exported even across the Euxine; but they were chiefly *blank books;* the day of glory did not dawn on the trade, till the reign of Augustus. The sale of books for profit was so uncommon in the days of Plato, that Hermodorus, the oldest bookseller of whom we read, and who sold the writings of Plato in Sicily, came to be a proverb. In the youth of Zeno, however, there were some incipient establishments for the sale of books in Athens.

The credit system, so important in modern commerce, was but partially understood by the ancients. Hence there were none of those commotions and pressures in the money-market, to which our cities are exposed. Yet there were some houses, which could always find money. The endorser was bound for a year. The laws for collecting debts were very rigid; and

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the rights of capitalists were guarded with great strictness. The rich were taxed, and taxed heavily; but they were well protected. There was one class of frauds on the creditor, in which the deception was punished with death. When money was lent, and the proceeds of a voyage pledged as collateral security, if the debtor secretly disposed of them, to the injury of his creditor, life was forfeited.

Commerce was suspended, or was at least inactive in the winter season. That, therefore, was the time for the sessions of the court, which had maritime jurisdiction. If a cause was not brought to an issue, it lay over to the next winter. But at a later time, the law assigned a month as the period, within which an action was required to be decided.

Commercial agents or consuls were not unknown. The Athenians hardly had a systematized tariff; or rather their position was such, as to render the adoption of a protecting system wholly useless. The chief commercial regulations related to the importation of corn; of which great supplies were annually required from abroad. There also occurred cases, where the sale of a monopoly was made an expedient for obtaining revenue. But if Athens had no prohibitory duties, because the first manufacturing district could defy competition, it was not so with her neighbors. Ægina and Argos both became jealous of the wealth of Athens, and the introduction of Attic manufactures was prohibited by their laws.

The dominion of the sea was converted by Athens into a commercial despotism. She understood too, no less than modern England, the dismal doctrines of blockade; and submission was almost the only security for a commercial city. If a ship hoisted an independent flag, it was sure to be pillaged by the Athenian corsairs. Her maritime courts were as ready as the English to sustain the claim of the privateer; and it was equally difficult to get a decree reversed, after a ship had been once condemned.

In the domestic market, the retail-trade was open to all citizens; foreigners might also come into competition; though of them a tax, or caution-money, was exacted.

The gains of mercantile operations were far greater than at present. Thirty per cent. was an ordinary rate of interest, where the collateral security was the return cargo; and where a charge of insurance was of course included. Yet it was unusual for a ship to return with its capital doubled; a re-

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sult not at all uncommon in the early stages of our own national republic. A Samian ship, which made for its owners a gain of $54,000 in one voyage, was considered by Herodotus something so extraordinary, that he has embalmed the memory of it in his works.

The productiveness of the southern regions and the difficulty attending the exports to remote nations, operated to reduce the price of many articles of easy production. Wine, for example, was produced in profusion in the southern countries generally; and its use was chiefly confined to the South. Prices were of course low. In upper Italy, in seasons of plenty, a bushel of wheat may have been worth ten cents; while a gallon of wine cost less than one. But Athens was a city, in which living was regarded as expensive. We shall give some *data* by which this opinion is confirmed. But the low price of some articles, as compared with present prices, is often to be attributed to a change in the state of the markets, and not to a change in the value of money merely.

The nearest possible approximation gives thirty dollars as the average price of an acre of good land in Attica. In this computation, we allow four *plethra* to the acre; which nearly accords with the fact. Yet landed estates were small and were greatly subdivided. Alcibiades inherited no more than seventy acres; and Phænippus, who owned three hundred and sixty acres, was esteemed an immense land-holder.

There were in Athens more than 10,000 houses; yet in consequence of the great extent of the city, all the land was not occupied. The houses were unsightly; the streets narrow and crooked; and the Piræus was the only regularly built part of the city. The upper stories often overhung the street; and stair-cases were very generally on the outside. Private houses were often built of unburnt brick. The whole expense of building was inconsiderable. The prices of houses varied from forty-five to one thousand eight hundred dollars, according to their size, situation, and quality. The latter price was unusually high; half the sum would purchase a very decent dwelling-house.

An able-bodied slave, not possessed of any peculiar skill, was worth not far from twenty dollars. The price varied of course, according to his health and age; the variation was from seven to thirty dollars. This proves how absurd, to say nothing of its immorality, is the use of slave-labor in

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a temperate clime. The labor of the slave would, as the price proves, do but little more than yield his own support. Yet a good mechanic was worth much more. The better slaves, employed by the father of Demosthenes in the manufacture of swords, were worth on an average about seventy-five dollars; and that sum was no unusual price for a skilful workman. The dividends on the establishment of Demosthenes, amounted to a little less than sixteen per cent. annually; but another branch of his business yielded him an annual profit of thirty per cent.

A good, serviceable horse, was worth about forty-five dollars; but a handsome saddle, or carriage horse, would very readily command one hundred and eighty dollars. Yet who can set a limit to luxury in horses? It may be said of human nature, as of youth, *gaudet equis*. Bucephalus brought nearly twelve thousand dollars. The price of a pair of mules was from eighty to a hundred and twenty dollars. In the good days of the admirable Solon, before the precious metals were plenty, the pious devotee could purchase an ox for the altar at the moderate price of seventy-five cents. But when Athens had grown rich, the price of the best beeves varied from seven and a half to eleven and a half dollars. A hecatomb cost in one instance, seven hundred and sixty-seven dollars; in another, eleven thousand and fifty-eight dollars. It is mentioned as one of the expensive fooleries of Alcibiades, that he gave one thousand and fifty dollars for a dog.

But corn and the corn laws—these involve a great question in the politics of Athens. Attica was by no means able to supply its own demands for domestic consumption. The residue was received partly from the Thracian Chersonesus, partly from Pontus. Hence we see, how important was the possession of Byzantium to Athens. There is reason to believe, that the annual importation of bread-stuffs equalled one and a half million of bushels.* Mr. Boeckh thinks, that the

* The inquiry into the corn trade requires an exact idea of the capacity of the Attic *medimnus*. The uninitiated may think it very easy to ascertain this. We consulted Donnegan's Greek Lexicon; we would not believe our eyes, as we read that it was equal to twelve bushels. To twelve bushels! We might here indulge in a little triumph at detecting so egregious an error; but in our charity we believe it to be a misprint for gallons. In Pickering's Lexicon, the *medimnus* is said to be equal to five pecks. It is nearer six. In the text we have allowed

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soil of Attica was made to produce three million bushels besides. This we doubt. It is certainly stated in the authorities, that a quart measure of wheat daily, say twelve bushels annually, was the allowance of a slave. Suppose there were three hundred and sixty-five thousand slaves; let us deduct twenty-five thousand for children, and we shall have four million two hundred and eighty thousand bushels for the use of the slaves only. The basis of the computation is according to ancient authorities; but the quantity seems to us much too considerable. It is not probable, that every slave was so well provided, or that the women received always an equal quantity with the men.

Be that as it may; the soil of Attica was made to produce a great deal, and yet vast quantities were still needed from abroad. No corn was allowed to be exported; no ship laden with it could touch at an Attic port, without selling at least two-thirds of its corn. The laws threw hindrances in the way of buying up all that was in the market; the quantity which might be purchased at once was limited, and the retailer was restricted to a profit of less than two cents on a bushel. All attempts to forestall and monopolize were prohibited, under the penalty of death. Yet the oppression of the corn merchants was very great, in spite of the severity of the laws.

As to prices—under Solon a bushel of wheat was worth ten cents; from 390 to 380 years before Christ, about thirty cents; in the age of Demosthenes, half a dollar was esteemed a moderate demand.

The bakers of Athens carried their art to a high degree of perfection; but we have no direct criterion to decide on the prices, which the good house-keepers of classic name were obliged to pay. The price of corn furnishes some means of judging; the disproportion, however, between the price of wheat and of bread must have been greater than at present, in consequence of the high rates of interest.

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one and a half bushels for a *medimnus*. The English bushel contains 2150 2-5 cubic inches; the *medimnus* contains 3150 5926-100,000 cubic inches. Having alluded to Pickering's Greek and English Lexicon, we take this occasion to say, that in the new edition, the American scholar, relying manfully and properly on his own researches, has made many valuable additions, many judicious omissions, and many well-founded alterations in Schrevelius. In its new form, it is the most convenient and trust-worthy Greek and English Lexicon for schools.

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The *metretes* of wine held about thirty-five quarts, or, (we pique ourselves on exactness) 35 1452-10,000 quarts. The low price of wine in the ancient world is astonishing. Native wine of Attica sold for less than two cents a quart; and very tolerable wine was often sold for half that sum. This low price proves, also, that in the main the Athenians were not an intemperate race. The Chian wine was worth forty-five cents a quart.

Sweet oil was worth a little more than sixty cents a gallon. Salt was easily imported into Athens; it was also manufactured. Of its price nothing is known. Timber for building was imported; but coals and fire-wood were sent into the city on asses. The quantity, which an ass would carry, was worth thirty cents.

The cost of living was as unequal as were the degrees of wealth and extravagance. Alexander's table cost for himself and his suite $1,500 daily, and the miser in Theophrastus allowed his wife but nine mills. The term *opson* embraced every thing but bread; and seven or eight cents were considered a small provision for it. Yet a slave in Terence buys a meal for his old master for two and a half cents; and the lawyer Lysias complains of the guardian, who charged for the *opson* of two boys and a little girl, the extravagant sum of a New-York shilling. The Athenians were very fond of fish; and a great deal of salt-fish was imported from Pontus and even from Cadiz.

The ancient world was ruled by the same human nature as the modern. The Wellington boots of modern days remind us of the Alcibiades boots, and the Iphicrates shoes of antiquity. A good cloak might cost one dollar and eighty cents; and a dandy was willing to give three dollars for a coat; evidently, however, from a fashionable tailor. A good pair of woman's shoes cost no more than thirty cents. A very showy pair of men's shoes may have cost one dollar and twenty cents. Ointments were exceedingly expensive. The more precious kinds were sold for from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars for a gill.

There are no sufficient data, on which to estimate the cost of a ship. As to productiveness, we find that the corn ship, Isis, of immense burden, yielded annually for freight, $10,800.

The amount necessary for the maintenance of a family, is not easily established. Socrates is supposed to have lived upon an income of seventy-five dollars; but then, his manner of living

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was inferior to that of the slaves. His coat was old and shabby, and he wore the same garment both winter and summer; he went barefoot; his chief food was bread and water; and as he engaged in no kind of business to mend his estate or increase his income, it is not wonderful that his wife scolded often. Demosthenes, his sister, and their mother, paid for their board $105 for a year; and paid the house rent, or rather provided the house into the bargain. A young man, Mantitheus, could be educated and supported, for $108 annually. The accounts furnish no means of arriving at a definite decision. Who would limit at the present day the sum, with which it would be possible to preserve life?

Death brought heavy expenses in its train. A piety, more disinterested than wise, lavished the income of years upon the expenses of a funeral; which amounted to a sum varying from $45 to $1800.

The working classes received but moderate compensation. The great number of slaves, who came into competition for labor, reduced the price exceedingly. Mere manual labor could be procured for ten cents a day; that seems to have been the lowest rate, and is not lower than the present price of labor in many parts of Europe.

The fares in travelling were very small. From Ægina to the Piræus, a distance of sixteen miles, the fare was but five cents. From Egypt or Pontus, not more than thirty cents. This price is inexplicably low. A soldier in the infantry received for pay and rations for himself and attendant, thirty cents daily; the officers twice, and the generals only four times as much. Here is a great contrast with modern usage. The wages of the highest officer, equal only to four times the wages of the private! What would our major-generals say to this?

Physicians were sometimes appointed by the State for the public. Hippocrates is said to have received a stipend from Athens, and to have been physician to the State. Democedes in the 60th Olympiad, about 538 years before Christ, received at Ægina $900. He was invited to Athens with a salary of $1,500; but Polycrates of Samos secured him for $1,800. In those days money was still scarce.

The *stars* at the theatres received enormous compensation. The highest sum mentioned, is $900 for two days; which would satisfy our most popular players.

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Protagoras, the Abderite, began teaching for money. He demanded for a complete course, $1,500. Gorgias demanded as much, yet died poor. Some, finding the prices high, used to cheapen the wisdom of the philosopher; just as now, copy-rights are a subject of discussion. But competition reduced prices. Evenus demanded only $150, in the age of Socrates; and at the same price, Isocrates taught the whole art of rhetoric. Prodicus used to sell tickets for separate lectures.

One per cent. a month, was the usual rate of interest; yet there was no legal restriction of usury. The trade in money, like every thing else, was left wholly free, and the rates varied from ten to thirty-six per cent. In cases of bottomry, this last rate was the highest. It is plain, that insurance was in such cases paid for, not less than the use of capital. The high rates may be ascribed to the insecurity of the times; the imperfect developement of sound legislation; the difficulty of pursuing a claim in a foreign State; and the faulty administration of justice.

The brokers made their gain partly by exchanging coins at a premium, but far more by receiving deposits and lending them again at a higher rate than they themselves agreed to pay. The credit of some of them became very great; and money and notes of hand were frequently deposited with them. Pasion, at once a banker and a broker, used to make a clear profit of $1,500 annually. Bankruptcies among the brokers, were of course, not unknown.

Imprisonment for debt was not allowed. The code of Solon, as we have stated above, five hundred years before Christ, terminated at Athens that mortgaging of the body, which has so long deformed the codes of modern States.

It seems doubtful, whether investments in real estate were profitable ones. In the cases of which accounts are preserved, the returns seem hardly to have exceeded eight or nine per cent. Yet the number of those, who lived in hired houses, was very great, hardly less than 45,000, with a proportionate number of slaves.

Before the present movement in the civilized world in favor of constitutional liberty, modern revolutions were usually the result of financial difficulties. In a democracy, there can be no distinction between the interests of the government and the people; we, therefore, find the civil commotions in the ancient States to have resulted from these causes. Money was as

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highly valued and the expenses of Athens were proportionally as great, as those of modern governments; but the ancients had no public debt, and therefore no tendency to bankruptcy. They were often in distress for funds; but violent remedies were applied; and the oppression did not remain as a permanent and increasing burden on succeeding generations.

After the system of oppressing the allies was well understood at Athens, money became the chief lever in public affairs; and of course the decline of the State was at hand. Yet pride of character, ambition, and the hope of plunder after victory, still preserved the spirit of liberty in the nation. The true policy of a popular State should be, to diminish the public expenses; in Athens, on the contrary, to the great detriment of the people, new wants were continually invented; new sources of prodigal expenditure were devised; and of course the finances kept constantly increasing in importance.

A regular estimate of the public revenue and expenditure seems never to have been made in Athens. Such annual estimates seem not to have been usual in antiquity. The regular expenses of Athens were for public buildings, public festivals, distributions and wages to the people for legislative and judicial services, pay of the troops, poor rates, public rewards, purchases of arms, ships and cavalry horses. The extraordinary expenses in wars cannot be estimated.

The public buildings of Athens were, as all the world knows, numerous, costly, and splendid. The most opulent monarchs, the haughtiest princes, have not been able to surpass or to equal, what the energies of the Athenian multitude called into existence. The Romans could do no more than imitate; and when quite recently Prussia desired, that the principal entrance into its royal city might be worthy of the pride of a rising power, its artists could propose nothing better than to reproduce the Propylæa of Athens. The dockyard of Athens alone cost $900,000. The fortifications were on a gigantic scale. The city and its harbors were protected by walls sixty feet five inches high, and broad enough for two wagons to pass conveniently; of faced stone, bound by iron bolts. The city and the harbor were connected by walls, one side of which measured more than four and a half, the other nearly four, miles. These were of course originally very expensive, and constantly required large expenditures for repairs. The Propylæa cost five years' labor, and $1,810,800 in money. Add to these the Odeon,

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the hippodromes, the aqueducts, the fountains, the public baths, the ornaments of the citadel, the temples of victory, of Neptune, of Minerva, all adorned with the costliest works of art, the pavements of the streets, the public road to Eleusis, the numerous altars, which pious superstition prodigally erected and endowed; and it will be evident, that a State of but half a million souls must have practised personal self-denial for the sake of public display. Time and the violence of man have indeed swept away most of these monuments of the inventive genius of Greece, these visible representations of the power, piety, taste, and luxury of the Attic democracy. Yet the ruins, which remain, are the admiration of all beholders. A few weather beaten-statues, a few mangled and broken basreliefs, torn from Athens by the rapacity of a British nobleman, now constitute the chief wealth in sculpture, which the British empire contains. Let two thousand years of adversity pass over the decline of London, and what monuments would survive to tell the future inquirers, that it had been the wealthiest metropolis of this age, and had claimed the first rank also for intelligence as well as for thrift? The private warehouses of London are the admiration of the observer; but except St. Paul's (which, after all, has not the stamp of eternity upon it like the Parthenon,) and the Waterloo bridge, there is nothing, which would bid defiance to time, and bear testimony to the latest generation, of the grandeur of British power. The chief city of the little democracy of Attica contained within its precincts far more of those manifestations of human ability, which elevate the soul above the ordinary details of life, stimulate the imagination, and quicken the creative faculties.

The police of Athens seems to have been limited to a patrol of armed watchmen, whose duty it was to preserve the tranquillity of the streets, and to afford protection to persons and property.

The festivals were a great source of extravagance. The Athenians, in the early days of the republic, sacrificed liberally, to display their reverence for the gods; afterwards prodigally, that the people might riot on the offerings of religion. In the splendor and in the number of her festivals, Athens surpassed all other Grecian States. The poets were invited to produce their magnificent dramas; tragedy was evoked with its splendid pall and its recollections of the days of demigods; the youthful beauty of the city appeared in the choirs; music

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lent its attractions to heighten the vivid interest of the stage; and splendid processions, with their glittering pageantry and solemn train, assisted in filling up a holiday with spectacles, that might attract and astonish the rest of Greece. 'You never postpone your festivals,' says Demosthenes, 'and you lavish on them larger sums than you expend for the naval service; but your fleets always arrive too late.' 'Count the cost of their tragedies,' says Plutarch, 'you will find that their Œdipuses and Antigones, and Medeas, and Electras, cost more than their wars for supremacy with the other Greeks, and their struggles for freedom against the barbarians.'

But a still greater abuse consisted in the direct distribution of money to the people. The money, levied from the allies, was divided among the poorer citizens, whole talents at a time. Confiscated estates were their plunder. The poor helped themselves out of the public chest, and sometimes dined and always went to the theatres at the cost of the State. Strange system of political ethics! where a ticket for the play was made a public concern.

We pay our legislators, courts, and justices; the ancient Athenians went further; they paid themselves for attending the town meetings. The whole number of voters may have been 20,000, but the rich and the busy did not usually make their appearance; the poor citizens never failed. Seven and a half cents was the liberal compensation, which an Athenian citizen received for acting in the supreme legislature of the State. We have reason to suppose, that 8,000 usually attended. Suppose 8,000 at seven and a half cents a piece; and we see that each Athenian town-meeting cost the State $600. There were forty regular meetings in the year; the annual charge was therefore $24,000. The daily and the annual cost of our representative General Court, is far greater than that of the general sessions of Attica.

The Council of Five Hundred, were paid fifteen cents each a day, for every day of actual service. We see in this, the views of the Athenians in regard to the compensation of public officers. They paid them but little more than the wages of a laborer. The relative value of money we have stated to be as three to one. Our House of Representatives would be as well paid as the Athenian senate, if their pay were fixed at forty-five cents a day. This may appear strange; but it is in conformity with the Grecian policy. The commander-in-chief of

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an army received, as we have seen, but four times the wages of a private. High salaries are not at all classic.

Athens was the great shire-town, in which all the courts of Attica were held, and where the causes of the allies also were tried. There was more law business done at Athens, than in all Greece besides. Nearly one third of the whole number of citizens sat daily,* as judges. Hence it was, that Athens swarmed with half-bred lawyers, pettifoggers, quarrelsome, litigious sophists. The daily pay of a judge was seven and a half cents. Every one, on entering, received a ticket and a judge's staff. When the day's work was done, he returned the ticket and received his emolument. There were ten courts, each composed of five hundred, and one regularly in session. Mention is also made of larger courts, composed of ten, fifteen, and even twenty hundred. Allowing 6,000 as the average daily number of judges in Athens, it is plain, that the title must have been more common than it is even in Vermont, and must have cost the State $135,000 annually.

The public orators, advocates, and lawyers, employed by the people, were ten in number. Their pay, like that of the senators, was fifteen cents for each day's service. Ambassadors were paid with equal frugality; though permanent embassies were unknown. Poets even received a public stipend. No person could draw double pay for different service; as, for example, no one could claim a compensation as present at the town meeting, and as judge, or orator, or senator, on the same day. The travelling expenses of the embassies were also publicly defrayed.

In spite of the doctrines which Mr. Malthus attempts to deduce from the conditions of mortal being, the weak, the unfortunate, all those incapable of earning a living, were sustained by the eleemosynary munificence of the State. In this exercise of public philanthropy, the Athenians were not imitated by the other Greeks; to them exclusively belongs the honor of providing for the poor, the helpless, and the aged, at the common charge. The Athenian State also supported and educated the children of those who fell in battle. Those who were crippled in war received a pension. Pisistratus established a military hospital. As to the provision for the poor, none could receive the benefit of it, except they had less than forty-five

*That is, except on such days as were appropriated to religion or to general assemblies.

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dollars. Yet this restriction was liberally interpreted. The assistance which was afforded, varied from two and a half to five cents daily.

Public rewards and honors formed a small charge upon the State. Golden crowns were sometimes awarded, or public statues erected. The dowry paid to each of the daughters of Aristides, amounted to more than $450.

That the Athenians were at considerable expense in times of peace to collect warlike stores, is in itself evident. But into these discussions, as well as the charges of war, we cannot enter. The revenue of Athens, in its days of prosperity, was $1,800,000; a large income for so small a State, and which could not have been collected, except by the consent of the allies to oppression.

The statements, which we have already given, are derived chiefly from the two first books of the work, of which the title is prefixed to this article. In the third book, Mr. Boeckh proceeds to investigate with great minuteness the sources of the Athenian revenue. His work transcends every thing, which has hitherto been written on the subject. The fourth book is devoted to a discussion of the extraordinary income of the Athenian State, and to the special financial regulations of the Greeks. If we cannot write *most eloquent*, or *most beautiful* under every page, we may at least pronounce them most minute, most exact, most elaborately and unaffectedly learned. We have seen in a foreign journal, the objection, that Mr. Boeckh descends into the consideration of too small and particular circumstances. A most strange objection! It is this circumstantial exactness, which must ever be the despair of vain declaimers, and the envy of superficial scholars. In his particularity consists his chief merit, and the trust-worthiness of his general inferences.

On the whole, we cannot but feel a strong partiality for the Athenian democracy. It was very far removed from that perfect liberty, which is enjoyed in our confederacy; the democracy of Vermont, for example, is an incomparably fuller practical developement of the principle of civil equality. Citizenship in Athens was an inheritance, and the government was in the hands of a minority; yet it was the nearest approximation to a perfectly popular State, of which ancient history furnishes the example. Our own revolution formed a new era in political history; and however we may regret the arts of

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Greece, and the general thirst for glory, which so remarkably characterised the Athenians, we shall find, as the result of every examination, that our own constitutions do not contain within themselves the seeds of evil, which wrought the ruin of the ancient States. With us, government is the protector of personal industry, talent, and happiness; and we are firmly persuaded, that however luxury may, with the increase of wealth, diffuse itself among private individuals, frugality is the true policy of the State. A portion of a people, whether it be an aristocracy, as in Venice or in England, or a separate multitude, like the rulers of Attica, may, and probably will become corrupt and unjust; a great nation, which acknowledges no political distinctions, can never be blind to the principles of equity. Justice is there the evident and permanent interest of all. With us, the great body of the citizens is sure of remaining uncontaminated; we have far more to apprehend from the headlong ambition or downright corruption of those, who are the depositaries of power.

ART. IV.—*Character and Abuses of the Medical Profession. Rules and Regulations of the Boston Medical Association.*

The influence of the several professions upon the character, moral, as well as intellectual and physical, of their members, would furnish us with a subject of inquiry not a little curious and interesting. There may be much exaggeration in the proverbial characteristics of each profession; but there can hardly fail to be some foundation for impressions so general, either in the past history, or the present condition of each community. The progress of society may have softened down the distinctions of those who have shared its improvements, or the character of individuals may have outstripped that of the particular community to which they belong; nevertheless, we apprehend it will still in general hold true, that the lawyer will acquire some peculiar habits by arguing for the fame or the rewards of victory, the clergyman by arguing where he does not expect, and cannot receive an answer, and the physician, by being accustomed to *prescribe* without either arguing, or being argued with, at all. In the other departments of life, too, the peculiar customs and habits of each exert a permanent influence upon the character of the individuals who compose it.

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These peculiarities are more or less distinctive, according as each community, or each individual, has partaken more or less of the improvements and refinements of cultivated society. The liberal and educated merchant of our country and our own day is a very different being from the narrow-minded calculating tradesman of other times; but we fear it will be long before the proverbial appellation of *shoe-maker's promise* will cease to be significant of faithless delay.

We propose to pursue the inquiry at this time only in reference to the medical profession. The relation in which this profession stands to society at large, and the estimation in which it is held, are in some respects peculiar to it. As a community, physicians are, more than most classes of men, made the butt of ridicule, and not unfrequently the subjects of sweeping and unsparing censure, while as individuals, no class of men are more honored and trusted. Ignorance, conceit, or bigoted devotion to visionary theories, indifference to human life, and a sacrilegious disrespect to the dead, are freely and generally charged upon them as a body; but individually, they are as generally esteemed, each in his own particular circle, with peculiar affection and regard. Happily for the profession, every man excepts his own personal physician from the suspicions with which he views the rest of his fraternity, and then, as if to make amends for his injustice to others, tacitly, and perhaps unconsciously, attributes to him the distinguishing excellence of having resisted peculiar temptations, to which most others in his situation have yielded. Now, as a man's character among those to whom he is personally known, is of incomparably more consequence to him than his general standing with the world at large as a member of a particular community, it follows that this general prejudice against physicians in its practical operation, is in some respects rather beneficial than injurious to them individually. It fixes a lower standard of merit, by comparison with which each physician is judged; and, consequently, it requires less absolute merit to obtain for him among his acquaintances the reputation of pre-eminent worth. Nor does the general prejudice against the profession take away the disposition to apply to a physician in case of need. It is almost always found, that those who when in health are the loudest and most ready in their censure of physicians, are the most prompt in seeking their assistance in sickness; and if they are sometimes troublesome patients, it is not from an unwillingness to trust themselves to professional skill.

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But if the primary effects of this prejudice are in some respects favorable to individual physicians, it does not thence follow, that its influence on the whole is either salutary or unimportant. On the contrary, it is obvious, that whatever diminishes the confidence of the public in the profession, takes something from the respectability and influence, and consequently from the means of usefulness of each member. The evil may be in a great measure counteracted by the predilection for particular physicians, of which we have just spoken, and there may be individuals, who will entirely surmount it by the elevation of their own character; but in an extended view of the whole subject it cannot be doubted, that both the profession and the public must suffer from an unworthy estimation of physicians, whether there be just cause for it in the condition and character of the profession or not.

We do not mean to intimate, that there is in this community at the present time, any especial danger of undervaluing the services of medical men; far from it. We believe that there never was a time, when they were held in so high respect and confidence as at the present day; and probably in no part of the world is this confidence more generally felt by all classes of people, than among us. Much of the distrust which now exists, is the remains of former prejudice, the causes of which have mostly passed away; and hence perhaps it is, that it attaches less to physicians, as individuals, than to the whole body collectively.

The principal effects, unfavorable to character, which have been attributed to the influence of the medical profession, may be resolved into the two following, viz., a bigoted attachment to authorized modes of practice, and a peculiar sensitiveness of feeling, or readiness to take offence for slight causes. The former renders physicians unwilling to receive information, or to adopt improvements in practice, however valuable, unless they come through the regular channels of scientific investigation, or established theories; the other disposes them to frequent jealousies and quarrels among themselves. There is, indeed, a third, which charges the profession with a want of scrupulousness in regard to the means of acquiring some kinds of knowledge; but of this we do not propose to speak at present.

Every one must have observed, how frequently remedies are introduced by men who can make no pretensions to regu-

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lar professional knowledge, for diseases which often baffle the science and skill of educated physicians. We speak not of the infallible, universal remedies, the panaceas, and the catholicons, which are blazoned forth by deception and falsehood, to impose only on the ignorant and credulous. We refer to the more modest discoveries of the means of curing particular diseases, which have obtained the confidence, sometimes founded upon an experience of their benefits, of intelligent and educated men. The effects which sometimes follow the use of such remedies, are not a little surprising; and occasionally they bring no small share of reproach and ridicule upon the profession and its regular practitioners. The lame man, whom a long attendance of the most skilful surgeons has failed to cure, is made to walk by a few applications from the hands of a blacksmith; and a bookseller, by a single word, can teach the dyspeptic to forget his indigestion, laugh at the doctor, and throw away his physic.

Physicians it is true, give little credit to all these things. They rarely adopt remedies thus irregularly introduced, and still less frequently do they acknowledge their efficacy. This incredulity of the faculty, however, does little to diminish the confidence of the public. It rather gives point to their sarcasms upon the profession. If discoveries are made in the art of curing diseases, which physicians with all their learning have not the sagacity to make, (and we hear little of discoveries of this kind by regular members of the profession,) it argues little for their candor or liberality, that they can perceive no merit in them.

Such is the view which many intelligent and educated men take of the conduct of the medical profession towards irregular practitioners, and their irregular practices; and to such an extent has the feeling prevailed, that we have seen some of them petitioning our Legislature for a modification of the laws in favor of such practitioners. Now, we do not for ourselves object to any alteration of the laws, which shall place all practitioners of the healing art, whether regular or irregular, upon an equal footing, in regard to privileges. And in saying this, we make no claim to extraordinary liberality; for it is our belief, that the distinction made by the present law operates unfavorably both upon the profession and upon the public, and is advantageous only to irregular practitioners. But we cannot so readily acquiesce in the cor-

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rectness or justice of this view of the conduct of the profession.

We do not deny, that remedies are often introduced by men who are not physicians, which acquire no small share of popular confidence. Neither will we deny, that such remedies are sometimes signally efficacious. So frequently is this the case, that some remedy of this sort is almost constantly before the public, and those who pay little attention to the matter, are hardly aware that they do not obtain a permanent reputation. Hence, they are ready to believe, that there may be some complaints, which quacks can cure better than physicians. It is worthy of remark, however, that the particular remedy in favor, is never for any considerable length of time the same. At one time it is a cure for consumption, at another for rheumatism, at another for dyspepsia, or it is a panacea, and cures every thing. Each has its day, and passes by and is forgotten; or else like a worn-out fashion, it descends from the higher to the humbler walks of life, to struggle on, by the aid of interested puffs and forged certificates, a little time longer. Whether it be that the cures which give it celebrity result only in temporary relief, or that its failures, or its injurious effects, as well as its cures, at length creep into notice, or that the mystery which attended its introduction being dissipated, it proves to be but an old remedy with new pretensions, we stop not now to inquire. The truth of the remark itself will not be disputed by any who have made themselves at all conversant with the subject. This circumstance alone is enough to show what degree of importance is to be attached to remedies the reputation of which is so evanescent, and to free the physician from any just imputation if he is not in great haste to adopt them before their merits are tested, notwithstanding the high-sounding promises with which they are introduced to notice.

It were easy to explain, how it may happen that a remedy shall acquire for a time a high reputation, which it does not possess merit enough to sustain. This circumstance is by no means peculiar to the remedies of irregular practitioners. The whole history of the medical profession is full of analogous instances. The habits of rigorous investigation which prevail at the present day in all the sciences, do not indeed now suffer inefficient medicines to acquire a very general reputation. But there have been times, when medicines have been in very

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extensive use, which are now universally regarded as nearly or quite inert.

No one but a physician (and it is scarcely possible even for him) can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of discriminating between the effects of remedies upon a disease, and the spontaneous changes of the disease itself. Most diseases have a natural tendency to disappear, sooner or later, of themselves, if not improperly interfered with; and those which have not this tendency often undergo changes, which are unexpected, and for which no specific cause can be assigned. Hence it happens, that the reputation of curing a disease, or of making a great impression upon it, is ascribed to a medicine simply because its use had preceded one of these spontaneous changes. Often, while a physician is congratulating himself upon a successful prescription, he finds that although his patient *is cured, his medicine, from some accident, was not administered.*

How, then, it will be asked, are we to judge of the value of remedies, if not by their effects? Certainly from their effects; —but not as they are observed in a solitary case, and in a general manner, in reference only to a final result. There must be a series of observations in which the phenomena are compared in the several cases, and the influence of each remedy observed, upon the particular symptoms, as well as its general effect upon the disease as a whole. And before the evidence can be regarded as complete, these observations must have been repeated by different persons, in order that allowances may be made for the influence of a natural partiality for a newly discovered or favorite remedy.

Few, if any, empirical remedies are ever subjected to a trial like this. The secrecy which is observed in regard to their true character, and which is secured, or aimed at, by oaths and subscriptions in some cases, and by variations in the composition of the medicine, to elude the results of analysis, in others, necessarily prevents a full investigation of their real merits. It is a fair inference, that the authors of these remedies are not unconscious that such an investigation would not enhance their reputation. Undoubtedly they act wisely, in respect to the accomplishment of their purposes, in insisting upon this secrecy, notwithstanding the unfavorable inferences to which it subjects them. The mystery, which attends the concealment, forms no small part of the causes of their suc-

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cess. Some years ago, the Parliament of Great Britain gave a Miss Stevens five thousand pounds to make public the composition of her remedy for the stone; and within a few years the Legislature of one of our sister States gave an empiric ten thousand dollars for a specific for hydrophobia. Yet neither of these remedies has probably ever been used, either by physicians or by empirics, since its contents were made known; although it cannot be doubted, that those learned bodies took care to obtain, what seemed to them good evidence of their efficacy, before they agreed to pay so liberally for them.

In the profession, no such concealments are practised or permitted. The whole profession and the public are considered as fairly entitled to the fruits of the knowledge of all its members; and if valuable observations or discoveries are made by any, they are freely communicated for the general good. Their knowledge is thrown into one common stock, from which each may draw according to the wants of his patients, and his own skill in applying it; but which no one is permitted to appropriate exclusively to himself. The profession does not recognize the right of any individual member to hoard up his discoveries, whether real or pretended, for his own private emolument. Among liberal, educated men, it is not to be supposed that any such attempt will be made. But if any one should act so unworthily, he would be at once excluded from the profession. Hence the reason, that none of the boasted discoveries of universal or specific remedies are made by physicians. The name of some distinguished physician is indeed often attached to them; but it is done without his consent or approbation.

Whenever the composition of a secret medicine has been made known, it has almost always turned out, that it contained no agents, which had not been before known and in use among physicians. Some unimportant modification of their composition, and a general and confident administration of them without regard to the particular character of the disease, constitute its only peculiarity. The same thing is nearly true, in regard to all the external remedies, the different modes of applying friction and fermentations, which have of late become so fashionable. Physicians do not rely upon these so *exclusively*, as do some empirics, and as they cannot generally go through the mechanical operation them-

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selves, they may not always give the full effect to their application of which it is capable; but there never has been a time, from the age of Hippocrates to the present day, when they have not been regarded as important auxiliaries in the cure of diseases.

In chronic complaints, remedies lose much of their efficacy when the system has become accustomed to their action, so that almost any change, or even leaving off medicine altogether, will many times produce some degree of improvement, which is indeed often only temporary. Practitioners of experience are well aware of this, and regulate their practice accordingly; but we have not unfrequently seen a young physician elated with the expectation of accomplishing a cure where older men have failed, because his first prescriptions have produced such an alleviation of the disease. Many of the cures supposed to be effected by newly-discovered remedies may be accounted for in this manner. While the application is recent, it is extensively spoken of, and reported as an effectual cure; at length the system becomes accustomed to the remedy, and its effect ceases. But in the mean time the novelty of the subject has passed away, and the ultimate failure of the remedy is little known. An attentive observer may remark, however, that it is in general the same individuals who are cured, over and over, by the succession of new remedies which are from time to time in vogue.

These different considerations will sufficiently explain why it is, that physicians are habitually incredulous in regard to the wonderful healing powers, so often ascribed to accidental discoveries in medicine. They have so much occasion to know (and this knowledge is but too often taught them by disappointments in their own practice) the difficulty of applying a remedy suited to the peculiar state of the system in each stage of a protracted and complicated disease, with all the advantages that science and experience can afford, that it cannot be supposed, that they will place much confidence in the chance operations of ignorant and presumptuous empirics. It may be, that this incredulity, and the contempt for quacks and quackery, which it involves, is sometimes carried to an extreme. It is not our purpose to defend or apologize for physicians; but to trace out the causes of some of the peculiarities of character which the profession exhibits. We may remark, however, that it demands no great stretch of charity to find some bet-

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ter motive for the repugnance of physicians to countenance uneducated practitioners, and their remedies, than the illiberal selfishness not unfrequently imputed to them.*

We wish we might hope to come to a result equally favorable to the character of the Medical Profession, in regard to the other point which we noticed. But it cannot be denied, that physicians exhibit a sensitiveness and jealousy of temper, especially in their intercourse with each other, far greater than is met with among other educated men. However amiable they may be in every other respect, and they have perhaps a full proportion of amiable qualities in general, if we touch them on a point of professional etiquette, we find ourselves treading upon corns. In many places, this *noli me tangere* sensitiveness embitters the happiness of medical men, and not unfrequently impairs their usefulness. Among ourselves, in this immediate community, it is restrained from breaking out into open quarrels by the excellence of our institutions of medical polity. But in some parts of our country, the profession is divided into factions, which abuse each other with unsparing violence; and in England, there seems to be no restraint of decency or decorum upon the virulence with which medical men satirize and slander each other.

The conduct of individuals in every department and rank in the profession, is there scrutinized and commented upon with unsparing severity; and every mistake in practice, whether real or imaginary, which jealousy or malevolence can discover, is published with exultation, as proof of the ignorance of some of the first physicians and surgeons of the age. All this is done in language, not merely dishonorable to a learned profession, but which would disgrace the lowest departments of

* If it had been more the object of this article to defend the conduct of the Medical Profession in regard to their treatment of irregular practitioners, it would have been easy to show, that in respect to pecuniary profit, they are a positive benefit to physicians; the amount of disease which is removed by their means being much less than the increase occasioned by their mismanagement, and by the neglect of proper remedies, caused by them. We might in that case, too, have taken notice of the very common impression, that to use *external* remedies only, the same extent of knowledge is not requisite, as to prescribe internal medicines. It is often as difficult to decide when medicines are necessary, as to determine what they shall be; and it is not easy to conceive of a case, in which any treatment is required, where this question will not arise.

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society. To the readers of at least one of the London weekly medical publications, and one that has a very extensive circulation, Sir Astley Cooper, Mr. Abernethy, Mr. Brodie, Sir Henry Earle, and their associates and friends, are as familiarly known by the detracting epithets habitually applied to them, as nicknames, as they are to the rest of the world by the names, which their standing in the profession has distinguished. Nor is this slander confined to a few individuals, or a particular class of men, towards whom the editors may be supposed to feel a peculiar dislike. The example thus set is followed by others, and under the pretence of correcting abuses, the same publication has become the vehicle of the jealousies, resentments, and malevolence of discontented physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and students through the whole kingdom.

How little regard is paid to the proprieties of time and circumstances, was shown during the sickness of the late King. It is painful enough to the physician to watch the progress of a fatal disease, with little power even of alleviating the sufferings of his patient, in the seclusion of private life. To do this in public, as it were, with the eyes of a nation fixed upon him, is incomparably worse. That any man, especially any medical man, under such circumstances, when the feelings of a whole people were excited with anxious solicitude, could look on, without any sympathy either for the patient or his physicians, only to censure and vilify, exhibits a malevolence of character, not easily acquired but by habitual detraction. The state of public feeling too, both in the profession and in the community at large, cannot be very sound, which can tolerate such things and encourage them by an extensive patronage. Indeed, it is one of the most mortifying circumstances of all, that these ill-natured contentions have brought the profession into such contempt, that the characters of physicians seem hardly to enjoy the protection of the laws. We know not how else to account for it, that in several cases where medical men in England have appealed to the law for defence against the most atrocious libels, juries have awarded damages so low as to operate as an encouragement to the libeller, rather than a punishment.

We have said that it is not so among ourselves; and happy are we that it is not. There is probably no part of the world where the state of the profession is more harmonious and peaceable than in Massachusetts. But although we have less open collision, the profession is not even here altogether free

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from jealousies and a sensitive regard to etiquette among its members. In the smaller towns, which support but two or three physicians, the intercourse between them is but too often disturbed by personal rivalry, if it be not even wholly interrupted by feelings of actual hostility; and in the larger towns, we see them carefully attentive to professional etiquette, lest they should either give or receive offence. It is well that it is so, if contention be the only alternative, as the experience of other communities indicates; but the fact itself shows a consciousness of danger.

The causes of this peculiarity are to be found in the nature of the relation between the physician and his patient. This relation is founded altogether upon the confidence which the patient places in the general character and faithfulness of his physician. No man attempts to form an opinion of the wisdom or skill of the prescription in any given case. To the entire public, learned and unlearned, the whole art of prescribing for disease is a mystery, which none but professional men attempt to penetrate. They see no part of the process in the physician's mind, by which he infers the character of the disease from the nature of the symptoms, and therefore they have no power to judge, whether the remedies selected are the deductions of reason, or the mere chance operations of ignorance. Even the result, in any given case, becomes no sure indication of the skill of the physician. We have already seen how many things influence the course of disease, besides the remedies which are applied to it; and if it be difficult for the physician to determine how much influence the remedy had upon the disease, it is impossible for the patient to judge how far the skill of the physician controlled it. It hardly need be said, how much less stable is a confidence thus circumstanced, than if it were founded upon some adequate knowledge of the physician's learning and intelligence.

But this is only a part of the case. The intercourse of the physician with his patient is not a mere cold, business matter, but is connected with some of the strongest and tenderest feelings of the human heart. And if there be something like affection in the feelings of the sick towards their physicians, there is often, by a natural consequence, not a little proneness to jealousy. The excited state of mind, produced by sickness and suffering, while it increases the susceptibility to the attentions and sympathy of the physician, adds also to the sensitive-

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ness to any omission, whether real or apparent, and opens the ear to any unfavorable suggestion, however slight.

All this takes place in seclusion and privacy. If any coldness or distrust have arisen, it is unknown to the physician, until he finds that another is called in his room. Hence he watches with anxiety every thing that looks like an indication of it, and becomes apprehensive of every thing that may tend to produce it; so it is also in the intercourse between physicians themselves. If they were brought into frequent and open contact, whatever jealousies might arise would be exposed and removed. If quarrels sometimes grew out of them, they would neither be rancorous nor lasting. But in the secluded manner in which they, in most instances, necessarily live in regard to each other, the whisperings of jealousy operate secretly for a time, and then, like the smothered fire, burst forth with greater violence.

There is one circumstance in the state of the profession in this country, which is peculiar to us, and which, if it were not counteracted either by the excellence of our institutions or the good sense of its members, would greatly endanger its peace and harmony. In other places, whenever the profession is divided into separate departments, the division is complete. The surgeon does not practise physic, any more than the physician operates as a surgeon; the oculist confines himself to the eyes, and the chiropodist to the feet. With us, on the contrary, although we have those who profess a peculiar skill in the several departments, yet they all claim, notwithstanding, an equal share of confidence in the general practice of the profession. It is sufficiently obvious, that a partial attendance may give occasion for attentions and sympathies, which will sometimes afford the opportunity to convert the *particular* practitioner into the family physician. Such a state of things demands a degree of delicacy of deportment on the part of those who act in this two-fold capacity, which the selfishness of human nature does not often permit us to witness, or a degree of forbearance in the rest of the profession, which, we are sorry to say, the profession has not often exhibited, or else an unusually favorable state of medical polity, to preserve the balance between them.

Having said thus much of those traits in the character of medical men, which are not always the most amiable, it is but justice to the profession, that we should notice, although we

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must do it briefly, one which is in every point of view creditable to them. Whatever faults or follies may be attributed to them, it is, we believe, universally allowed, that they are distinguished for their beneficence to the poor. This is not merely the character of distinguished individuals in the profession, or of a considerable number, or a majority of individuals; but of the profession as a body; insomuch, that any physician, who should not partake of it, or at least assume it, would lose his reputation and standing. The poor man, however destitute of the means of making compensation, calls for medical aid, with the same confidence that his call will be answered, as the richest man among us. He may go hungry, or ragged, or cold, because he has not the means to purchase food, and clothing, and fuel, or is unwilling to beg them; but if he be sick, he calls a physician, and feels that he is conferring patronage rather than soliciting charity. Neither is this gratuitous attendance limited to those who are in other respects dependent upon charity. In this good city of Boston, where there is comparatively little abject poverty, there are some thousands, who never dream of such a thing as a physician's fee, but who exercise their full privilege of being sick. Boerhaave is said to have called the poor his 'best patients.' Happy the young physician who can now so regard them!

It may be said, that there is little merit in a benevolence, which is thus rather forced upon the profession by circumstances, than sought by their own choice. This may be in a degree true in regard to individuals; although the habitual performance of benevolent deeds, from whatever motive they may have originally proceeded, can hardly fail eventually to excite some corresponding affections in the temper and disposition of the mind. But in respect to the profession as a whole, no such compulsion has ever been, or ever could be exerted upon it, from any circumstance external to it. The custom of attending the poor gratuitously, has now grown, by long usage, into a sort of common law, which the whole profession combined, if ever so much disposed, could hardly abrogate. But it has grown out of the character of the profession itself, and of that of its members. If, therefore, physicians are bound to take shame to themselves for the jealous disposition towards each other, which the circumstances and habits of their profession have entailed upon them, they may well be allowed to offset against their mortification, some pride in their cheerful

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compliance with the benevolent customs which they have inherited with it.

If it be true, as we have stated, and as we most assuredly believe, that the condition of the Medical Profession is better among us than in any other part of the world, it is not that the individuals of whom it is composed are more amiable or less sensitive in their dispositions here than elsewhere; but because our institutions are more favorable to the cultivation of a good understanding among them. We have before compared the medical institutions of our own Commonwealth with those of Great Britain, in reference to their power of protecting the public interests from the dangers and deceptions of quackery;* and we were led to the conclusion, that ours are not only incomparably more simple and more consistent with the just rights of all parties, but also much the more effective. A similar comparison in reference to the subject of our present inquiry, would, we are fully persuaded, exhibit an equal advantage in favor of our own institutions.

In England, and so far as we know, in the other nations of Europe, and in most of the States of our own country, the chief reliance for the regulation of the profession, is upon the direct provisions of the laws, enforced by penalties, which, in some instances, are severe; in this State, it is upon a sort of concentrated influence of public opinion. The design of the chartered privileges is to secure the community against the ignorance and impositions of empirics. But in attempting this, they have in effect established a difference of rank and of privileges in the profession itself; and this is not always conformed to the distinctions of scientific and professional merit. The London College of Physicians, for example, whose powers and privileges, as granted by charter, are exceedingly ample, have established it as a by-law, which no force either of persuasion or compulsion has been sufficient to induce them to relax, that no physician shall be elected a Fellow of the College, who has not taken a Doctor's degree at one of the English Universities, Oxford or Cambridge. This same College has the power (a power which it has on several occasions shown itself sufficiently disposed to exercise) to punish by fine and *imprisonment*, any man who shall attempt to practise medicine in London, or within seven miles of it, without a license from its own

* See North American Review, for July, 1828.

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Board of Censors. The law, however, compels them to grant the license upon receiving proof of a sufficient education, at whatever school it may have been obtained. The advantages for a medical education at the universities are incomparably less than they are in London and Edinburgh, and in some of the schools on the Continent, to which many English students resort. As those who have the greatest portion of enterprise and ambition will resort to those schools which offer the greatest advantages, it follows, that a large proportion of the Licentiates in practice, must be men of a higher character and a better education, than those who hold the higher title, and enjoy the extended privileges of Fellows. Still more inevitably does it follow, that there must be perpetual jealousies and collisions between the two classes of physicians. But this is not all. There is still another class of practitioners more numerous than either of these. By the charter of the College of Physicians, as we have said, none but a Licentiate of that College is permitted to practise medicine. More than a hundred years ago, the College attempted to enforce the law against an apothecary, who had visited a sick man, and given him medicine, by which he was cured, without charging a fee. The House of Lords, on an appeal from the King's Bench, decided that this was not practising physic, within the meaning of the charter, and thus opened the door for all apothecaries to follow the example. They were of course not slow to avail themselves of the privilege; and in a short time, a very large proportion of the medical practice passed into their hands, while that of the regular physicians declined to little more than consultation.

The whole history of this change is curious and instructive; and singularly illustrates the effect of relying upon legal protection in disregard to the influence of public opinion. It needs no detailed history of the transaction, to show, that at the time when it took place, there was a demand on the part of the community for a more popular class of practitioners, which the law itself could not resist. Whether it was, that the number of physicians was too small, or what is more probable, that relying upon their legal privileges, they demanded more compensation or deference in return for the exercise of their profession, than the public were willing to concede, is of little moment. Nothing but such a necessity as we have supposed, could have induced the House of Lords, by its decision, and

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the public by submitting to it, to do away by a mere fiction of law, with the express stipulations of the royal charter, sanctioned as they were by an act of Parliament. That it was no better than a fiction, is shown both by the nature of the question, and by the subsequent events. For more than a hundred years, the apothecaries in England have performed the duties, which in other countries are performed by physicians. The apothecary visits the patient, and determines what his case requires; and the only real distinction between him and the physician is, that instead of writing his prescription and sending it to a shop, he supplies the medicine himself, and then, by a degrading subterfuge, evades the law, by charging for medicine only, and obtains compensation for his personal attendance, either by an enormous charge for his medicines, or by a sort of voluntary contribution, which custom has rendered legal. Even this yoke of humiliation is now taken from the necks of the apothecaries. As they have provided for the education of the members of their company, the court the last winter decided, that it is absurd to regard them as mere mechanists, and that they have the right to *demand* a fee for the mental labor of prescribing the medicine, as well as for the mechanical labor of preparing it.

What are the precise distinctions in the legal rights of this department of the profession, we do not exactly know. But it will readily appear, that here is a third rank in the profession, entitled to, and aiming at, and not unfrequently obtaining, general confidence and employment, as practitioners of medicine. It is sometimes not a little amusing, to witness the struggle between them and their more privileged and higher-titled brethren. While the physicians uniformly speak of them as an inferior class, they seem disposed to forget their origin. They have dropped the name of apothecaries, and commonly style themselves *general practitioners*. It is curious, too, to observe how each successive race of practitioners, like the earlier nations of modern Europe, drives most of its predecessors before it, or subjugates them, and occupies their places. If we may believe one of the London medical journals, the late King, in his extremity, insisted upon having his apothecary called to the consultations upon his case; and although this statement has been contradicted, the fact of its being made, shows at least, that the standing of the apothecaries with the community is such as to give some degree of probability to it, even if it be a false-

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hood. On the other hand, although they have thus brought themselves into notice and favor, not only without, but in defiance of, the provisions of charters and statutes, we find them no less than their older brethren, relying upon such provisions, for the defence of the privileges they have obtained. They, too, have now their chartered company; and we find by some of the late journals, that the complaint is already made, that *druggists* are presuming to prescribe in contravention of the rights and privileges of the apothecaries. In twenty years, we shall probably see these same druggists treading in the steps of their predecessors, and exalted by some new legal fiction into acknowledged, if not privileged practitioners. In the ultimate result they, too, may become educated and competent physicians. But in the interim, while the process of transformation is going on, the kingdom is filled with ignorant and unskilful practitioners, and new elements of discord and discussion are introduced into a profession already sufficiently divided.

Let us now suppose, that instead of the immense powers conferred on the College of Physicians, by its charter, that body had only received such privileges as are commonly bestowed at the present day on similar corporations, the right to elect its own members, and to regulate their conduct by its by-laws. This we regard as the legitimate, and the only proper means, of combining the influence of individual character and conduct, so as to produce a united effect on public opinion. Had this been the only power of the College of Physicians, the first effect must have been to prevent the division between the Fellows and Licentiates. The Fellows would have perceived, that the value of the distinction which they enjoyed as such, could only be maintained by the same professional merit, by which it was first acquired; and, consequently, instead of framing their by-laws so as to exclude those, whose education and character equally entitle them to the same privileges, they would have taken care so to frame them, that the line of distinction should correspond with that of desert. Had they done otherwise, those who were excluded, no matter by what name they were called, would soon have become the most honorable body.

This has been the result in our own State. The Massachusetts Medical Society was originally limited by its act of incorporation, to seventy members. After an experience of

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more than twenty years, it was found that the purposes of its institution, either as it respected the profession, or the public, were not, and could not be accomplished by such an organization. A new application was made to the Legislature, and authority was obtained to elect into the Society all the respectable practitioners in the State; giving the right to all the Licentiates of the Society to *claim* admission, upon presenting evidence of reputable conduct and character, after three years' practice. Even this limitation is now regarded as injurious, inasmuch as it divides the profession into two classes; although the distinction between them is slight and temporary, and there is now pending before the Legislature, a petition for permission to remove it.

Another effect of such a limitation of the powers of the College of Physicians as we have supposed, would have been to prevent the introduction of the apothecaries into practice as physicians, in 1704. Whatever was the cause of the necessity for additional practitioners of medicine, whether it arose from a deficiency in their number, or the want of a different class, with lower attainments and lower fees, the College of Physicians might easily have prevented or removed it, by diminishing the obstacles to obtaining a license. No one can doubt that they would have done this, if instead of relying upon the arbitrary privileges vested in them by the charter, they had felt that their power was derived from the confidence of the public. By this means, the apothecaries would still have been excluded from practising a profession for which they were not educated. At the same time they would have suffered no hardship, because although *as apothecaries* they might not practise physic, yet the individuals among them who were in any good degree qualified, would have been admitted to practise, *as physicians*. The necessity for a greater number, or a different class of practitioners, would have been provided for, without the enormous evil, which we formerly considered,* of introducing a great body of unqualified practitioners of medicine; and without the additional evil, which it is more particularly our present object to notice, of entailing perpetual discord and contention upon the profession. That such has been the result of the present institution in England, is sufficiently apparent from what we have already said; and to such

* N. A. Review, for July, 1828.

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an extent have these contentions proceeded, that it is not easy to see how society can much longer endure them, or what remedy can be devised for them.

We can hardly too much felicitate ourselves, that we have an institution so simple and powerless, as to be scarcely capable of oppressing any one, and yet so powerful as to be able to restrain, if it cannot eradicate, the contentious propensities, which, as we have conceded, prevail too much among physicians. Our Massachusetts Medical Society does this effectually on a large scale. In a smaller sphere, where physicians are brought frequently into close contact with each other, as in one large town, it is necessary that the same system should be carried more into detail, by a more particular code of regulations. This is done for our own city, by the rules of the Boston Medical Association, which direct the course of conduct to be observed by its members, in their professional intercourse. This association has nothing to do with the qualifications of candidates for the profession. It receives for members all within its limits, who are acknowledged by the Massachusetts Medical Society as competent practitioners, and no others. The principle upon which it is founded, is precisely the same with that of the general society. It has no power to compel any one to belong to it, or to force a member to conform to its regulations, but simply the right of requiring its members to withhold their assistance from him, if he do not. Nor does it need any other power; for so long as its requirements are reasonable and proper, the community will not place confidence, to any considerable extent, in any physician who has not the confidence of the profession. There is not a man among us so powerful, that he can withstand its regulations, without suffering materially, not only in his feelings and his respectability, but also in his business and emoluments.

It is true that these regulations are often disregarded; and there are those, who aim at their own advancement by breaking them. But although they may gain some temporary advantages by thus showing that they are under fewer restraints than others, yet in the result, it has always proved injurious to their personal interests. The loss of their own self-respect, by the violation of the obligations of honor and duty, into which they have voluntarily entered, is necessarily followed by a diminution of the respect and confidence of others. Thus it has turned out, that those who have sought to advance themselves

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in this way, have in the end attained a less favorable standing than they would have acquired by a more honorable course.

Art. V.—*Waverley Novels.*

Waverley Novels; Revised and Corrected, with General Prefaces, and Notes, Historical and Illustrative, by the Author. Boston. S. H. Parker. 12mo. 1829–1831.

The present century has no name in its annals of more enviable distinction than that of Walter Scott; the victories of Napoleon were not so wide, nor his monuments so likely to endure. The works of his fine imagination have not only found, but created readers in regions where nothing in the form of a book had ever found its way before. Many sagacious persons, like the countryman by the river-side, have been waiting for this tide of popularity to run by; so far from this, it seems to grow broader and deeper, and bids fair to disappoint all calculations founded upon the usual changes of taste and time. No better test can be given to try the excellence of a work of fancy, than a second reading; if the interest abate, alas for the writer's fame! It indicates a decline, which will go on from year to year, till the star, however brilliant in its season, will sink beneath the horizon, never to rise again. But if, on the contrary, new beauties appear, and the work is laid down the second time with an impression as deep if not as stirring as at first, the author's fame is secured. Our readers of mature age may apply this to the fame of writers much distinguished in their day. We can remember when the whole reading world shivered by reason of Mrs. Radcliffe's fearful mysteries; but a second reading, like the crowing of a cock, drove all her ghosts to their graves. When her gloomy procession had gone by, thousands of readers were surprised by the day-break, as they were devouring the Scottish Chiefs or Thaddeus of Warsaw; but a second reading served only to destroy all the charm of the first. This is true even of Miss Edgeworth in a measure; her Lord Oldborough, a character which undoubtedly made more impression than any other which she ever drew, will not bear a second reading; but her substantial merits have secured for her a desirable and lasting fame. Now, the excellence of Scott appears in the fact, that his writings not only bear, but require a second reading; without it, we cannot realize the

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wealth of his imagination, nor the reach and majesty of his power.

The reputation of Scott is built upon his works of fancy. He has labored in other departments of literature with great vigor and success. His biographical sketches, particularly, have been distinguished by their manliness and candor, though, with the exception of Napoleon, they were written without much exertion of his strength. That great work has not satisfied the demands of the world, but we presume that no living writer could have given equal satisfaction; and the truth is, that the gigantic character he describes is still too near us to be painted; we must wait till the lights and shadows are blended into their right proportions by the effect of distance and time. There are those who are disposed to regret, that so great a character can be earned by one who, as they say, does nothing more than amuse the world, which they consider the highest aim and effect of Scott's imaginative writings; but let them vary their language a little,—let them call it giving happiness to the world,—and we hardly know how he could propose to himself a higher and happier end for the exertion of his splendid powers. We think that whatever makes men happier is apt to make them better; and the union of these two purposes being the glory of divine inspiration, we know not why human inspiration should be ashamed to follow the example. Let any one point out a work of Scott in which moral sentiment and character are perverted as in the mighty Corsair of Byron, or the paltry pick-pocket Paul Clifford, and we will take down his statue at once from the high niche in which it stands; but we cannot find in all Scott's writings a single page, nor a single character, in which shame is made glory, or glory shame, or in which any thing more is given to guilt, than the compassion united with aversion, which it ought always to inspire. We are confident, that if ever the mind can safely surrender itself to this enchantment, it is when the power is lodged in a conscientious hand like his.

It is too late in the day to question whether works of imagination can be safely read; read they certainly will be, and safely, by those who do not go to excess. Scott has done much to guard against this danger; for with one sweep of his pen he has sent to forgetfulness whole armies of novels, which used to prey upon the time and feelings of the young. It is true, that some, like Bulwer's, struggle up by dint of

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brazen impudence, into a temporary notoriety, which we shall be compelled to blush for in a year or two, as for the Counsellor Phillips passion, which once prevailed in our land; but this cannot be prevented;—when a tree throws a thick and deep shadow over a landscape, such pestilent weeds are most apt to grow beneath it. In this case the good is direct, and the evil incidental. And how can any object, that his writings are not true? There is such a thing as truth to nature as well as truth to fact, and it often happens that one must be observed at the expense of the other. Who ever thought of objecting to the parables of scripture, that they are not true? If instruction, information, or suggestion, can be communicated in this way more directly and impressively than in any other, it is folly not to adopt it. The work of fiction in such a case is only an extended figure, which illustrates the truth and deepens its impression. But it is only necessary to say, that the good and bad effects of such works have been greatly overrated; they affect us more like the action and imagery of a dream, than like the real experience of our lives; though we allow, that it is quite possible to become intemperately attached to this as well as to music or any other fascinating art. Any extraordinary zeal against it reminds us of John Newton's description of the singers in torment, which Cowper says made him laugh '*de profundis*' in his deepest gloom.

We consider ourselves, then, as doing no injustice to the great name of Scott, when we speak of him in reference to his Waverley Novels; or rather, we consider it but a proper tribute to one who has so delighted the world, to revive the recollections of our surprise and pleasure, when the bright visions of his imagination were first opened to our view. He has now thrown off his disguise, which was never more complete than that of a first rate actor dressed for his part, and easily known by his excellence, though his name is not in the play bill. Though there were some who, with remarkable folly, insisted upon ascribing these works to various persons, whose names were never heard of before, the world had sense enough to know, that they were written by a practised as well as an able hand. It does not readily appear, why Scott should have submitted to the inconvenience of this disguise, which every one saw through, after he had ascertained the success of his experiment upon the public taste; for besides that it protected him from no criticism, it laid him under

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the necessity of denying the authorship when the question was plainly proposed. This he claimed a perfect right to do, and we shall give no opinion on the subject, further than to say, that a secret so defended ought to be well worth keeping. In the case of Junius, there was something gained by a disguise; men wondered at the extent and accuracy of his information; while his familiar knowledge of the characters and designs of men in power, and the mystery in which he wrapped himself, made his attacks appear more like the fierce vengeance of an evil spirit than the helpless rage of man. There was a reason why Junius should have made the disguise, which he wore while living, serve as a winding-sheet when dead; because, even now, if the veil should be torn away, the name of the writer would labor under a reproach, from which his ability could not redeem it. In the case of Scott, there was nothing of the kind to be gained by the disguise, nor lost by the detection; and the reason of his wearing it probably was, that after first putting it on, for which he had sufficient cause, he never found a time when he could gracefully cast it away.

He was spared this trouble by the bankruptcy of his publishers, which of course placed any longer secrecy out of his power. This event subjected him to heavy losses; but perhaps it cannot be regarded as a misfortune; for few men can submit to severe mental exertion without the impulse of necessity, or equally powerful inducements pressing upon them in one form or another; and in this point of view nothing can be regarded as a calamity, which drives men to intellectual labor. At all events, his misfortune is gain to the world, and perhaps it is owing to this, that he still perseveres in a work which he would have abandoned long ago, if he could have been wrought upon by weariness of impertinent criticism, or by satiety of fame.

We propose to take some notice of various criticisms which have been made on these remarkable novels, and we may as well say in the outset, that we consider them as poems. Many, who remembered what a charm there was in the first hearing of the words, 'The feast was over in Branksome tower,' professed to be surprised that Scott, when his peculiar style was run down by imitators, could strike out a new path for himself, and walk in it with so much grace and power. But the truth was, that he did nothing more than throw off the incumbrances of rhyme, that being all of which his readers were weary, and the natural result was, that he took a wider range, and express-

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ed himself with more ease and freedom. He was still every inch a poet, and his works were as much poems as ever; his apprenticeship to his art, and the familiarity which practice bestows, were not lost; his language was as poetical as before; so that the whole change, instead of amounting to a Pythagorean transmigration, was nothing more than an alteration of dress. Though many seem hardly conscious of this fact, and various fine theories have been offered to explain, how he who succeeded so well in one department, could write so well in another, it has had an effect, which is even now more felt than seen. The moment the eminent poets of the day were convinced, that a mechanical arrangement of words was not essential to poetry, they rushed out with exultation from the circus to the broad highway. Southey, Campbell and Moore, tried their hands at prose-writing, and to many it seemed as if the whole poetical region was given over to desolation; but it soon appeared, for the consolation of the lovers of the 'Nine,' that whereas there is much prosaic verse in the world, there may be such a thing as poetical prose, of which Southey, Moore and Irving, have given sufficient examples. Scott is the author of this change, or rather, like other reformers, he has pointed out to the world what progress they had already made; for assuredly, Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Walton were poets many years ago, though they never had written a line of verse. But this is better expressed by the Antiquary. 'A man may be a poet, without measuring spondees and dactyles, like the ancients, or clashing the ends of lines into rhyme, like the moderns; as one may be an architect, though unable to labor like a stone-mason. Dost think Palladio or Vitruvius ever carried a hod?'

These novels, then, are to be regarded as poems; they have a right to the same immunities and exemptions, and are to be tried by the same laws. Their lineal descent may be easily traced from the romances of which Mr. Ellis has given so many specimens. It is not a little surprising, that so many objections should have been made to the historical form. So lately as the last year, a writer in the Edinburgh Review repeats the suggestion, that the fancy is only embarrassed by maintaining this connexion between fact and fable; and seems to think, that such works would do better without the support of history. He even refers to the historical portraits which Scott has drawn, for evidence of the truth of his assertion. But

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most readers, we apprehend, will agree with us, that his adventurous and successful execution of a work so difficult, is one of the best proofs of his power, and gives an interest and charm to his writings, which mere fiction could not possess. The critic speaks of Charles Edward, compared with the Baron or Fergus; there to be sure, the Chevalier must have been over-drawn, in order to inspire interest, because his personal character was deficient in attraction. But Claverhouse, Richard, Mary and Elizabeth, all full length portraits, in which the poet, more by suggestion than enumeration, has contrived to embody all the many and various impressions of their originals, which prevail in history or imagination;—originals, too, of which every one had already a distinct idea existing in his mind, with which the new painting must agree, or be pronounced no likeness,—all these, not to speak of the inimitable James in Nigel, form a gallery of more value, than any historians, or all put together, have drawn. And we may estimate the ability with which he has removed our old impressions, and supplanted them by his own, without breaking in upon our associations, by comparing these with the attempts made by such writers as Horace Smith; or the Pelham manufacturer, attempting to raise Dr. Johnson, and seeming as much at ease as if the awful original stood before him. Both appear in as much perplexity and dismay as the witch of Endor, if the belief be true, that while she intended only an imposture, a real ghost came up from the dead. In this respect, Scott has but one rival, and if he be not inclined, as we presume he is, to yield the prize to Shakspeare, they must, as historial portrait-painters, divide the crown.

Moreover, there is an advantage in attaching the romantic narrative to real events, scenes and places; there is an air of truth about representations of real things, which mere fancy-pieces never did and never can possess. We have no doubt that the Iliad would have been set down as pure fiction, were it not for its local descriptions; and Virgil, who knew how to turn a good example to the best account, is as minute as Malte-Brun, in fixing a sufficient number of land and sea-marks on his hero's way. Traditions cling to the place where they were born; to remove or dislodge them, is like the attempt to transplant the palm-tree; the imagination cannot bear any thing Utopian in its favorite descriptions; in proportion to the reality of its visions, is the desire to attach them to some peculiar

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spot; and since fortunately we can stand in fancy, as well as by travelling, on the plain of Marathon or the ruins of Iona, we are pleased to have the writer anchor his imagination to some real scene, even though it be one that we never saw. Scott was also fully aware, that truth and fiction might ally themselves with mutual advantage; while his real landscape has made us feel confidence in the reality of his persons and actions, it is equally true that the fiction has given a charm to the rocks and mountains of his native land, which will last till the mountains sink and the torrents cease to flow. It is no small distinction thus to patronize his native land, and to cast the light of his own glory on every city, castle and tower, from the Solway to the Shetland isles. A hundred years ago, the Highlands of Scotland were as little known as the Rocky Mountains, but his pen has thrown them open as completely as a thousand military roads, and travellers will wander over them in all generations to come. Like the dying Fergus, he has remembered the blue hills of his country, and they in return shall long remember him.

The historical romance, then, in our opinion, is the best form of the novel; and no serious objection can be made to it, except its difficulty, which though an objection to writers in general, is a recommendation to a man of genius; a word which we use for acquired as well as original power. If a weak hand undertake to manage this mighty enginery, it soon finds that it would have done better if it had measured its strength, and taken subjects to which it was equal; but an able hand controls it with easy and gigantic strength, and then the triumph is complete. We speak of acquired power, because it is perfectly evident that mere talent would be but a slender preparation for such a various adventure. Beside inventive faculties of the highest order, the poet must have a pervading and collected good sense, which knows how to give all subjects, and the parts of all subjects, their right place and proportion; he must be familiar with life as it is at present, and as it was in past ages; he must be as familiar with history, as with his own table—in the spirit as well as the letter; he must be familiar with the arts of life and the arts of death, known in ancient times; rivalling Meyrick in his knowledge of ancient armor, and Dugdale in his monastic learning; with these, and a hundred other preparations, he must have a strength that smiles under its heaviest burthen, and a humor that plays over all, like the sun-beam on the sea. There are

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few, indeed, in whom these attributes are found, and we do not believe that Scott could have possessed as many as he does, had he not devoted the first and best years of his mature life, to preparation, contented to wait for his harvest till life should come near its close. Like Cromwell, he began late, and therefore, like that most fortunate of all usurpers, he seems likely to die in full possession of his power.

The standing objection to Scott's novels, is their want of a story consistent in all its parts; as if plots were found in nature; as if taking any passage from the history of common life, we should find all its circumstances tending to one conclusion. We have certain traditional notions of the unity required in a poem or novel, which are regularly insisted on by critics, and as often disregarded by every successful writer. In a play such unity may make the representation easier, and aid the dramatic effect; but even this seems not to be true with respect to Shakspeare; at any rate, it is a matter of choice with writers, whether they shall enslave themselves to the classical forms or not, and then success alone can determine, whether they do wisely to observe or break them. In Old Mortality, Scott, like Shakspeare in the Winter's Tale, leaps over a number of years; for this the critics reprove him, and tell him that it would have been better to bring the narrative sooner to a close, or to give the annals of the lost years. He, however, is of a different opinion, and in such a case, his opinion is at least as good as theirs. These defects are of the kind that suggest themselves to the examining critic, and not to the interested reader; and provided his readers are satisfied, we presume that he is not much oppressed by the critic's displeasure. By putting together several admissions and disclosures in this late edition, we gather a curious piece of literary history, and have no doubt, that our conjecture is true. When Guy Mannering appeared, it was reviewed in the Quarterly in the flippant and ungracious style, which was commonly reserved for American subjects. In 1817, a review of Old Mortality followed, in which allusions were made to the first, as if it were hardly just, but with a salvo for the infallibility of reviewers. This last article brought forward the passages of history on which some of his scenes and characters were founded; and it now appears, that the reviewer, Mr. Erskine, derived this information from Scott himself, who doubtless saw the paper; for no friend to the author would have published criticism so severe, without

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his permission, and no author would have borne it, who felt insecure of the public favor. This article contains most of the literary censures which have been thrown upon the novelist; want of story and connexion among the rest; and thus it appears, that Scott, by connivance if not direct agency, has supplied the critics with most of their charges against himself. The reviewer has shown some art in assuming the harsh and crabbed manner which once distinguished the Quarterly;—we say once, because justice requires us to say of both the great British Reviews, that they have gained in moral loveliness what they have lost in intellectual power.

Beside the loose construction of his stories, it is objected to him, that his heroes are inefficient and uninteresting. That they are uninteresting, every reader will testify, is not true; they are certainly less marked and striking than other characters in the novel, but if this be charged upon him as a fault, then, as Johnson finely says, there is an appeal open from criticism to nature. The name *hero* usually indicates the lover of the story, and it has come down to us from the times, when want of physical force and military success was want of every thing. But in the course of ages it has been discovered, that other less brilliant qualities are quite as likely to secure the happiness of social and domestic life; and to have slain two hundred Philistines, would not be a passport to the favor of the fair of the present day. Still this impression, which is almost obliterated among the Sioux and Pawnees, and has been forgotten for centuries in every civilized land, is insisted upon as a rule essential to the interest of every perfect poem. If the hero must concentrate in his own person all the interest of the story, Achilles is not the hero of the Iliad, nor Æneas of the poem which bears his name. The Baron of Bradwardine certainly attracts more attention than Waverley, and Balfour of Burley more than Morton; but it seems to us, that neither of those worthies would have figured to advantage in the character of a lover. Meg Merrilies and Dominie Sampson inspire more interest than Bertram and Julia Mannering; so that, according to this judicious criticism, the author had no alternative, but either to substitute the elder couple for the happy pair of the novel, or to cut down the peculiarities of those remarkable characters, so that they might not eclipse the younger. In short, lovers belong to ordinary life, and if an author binds himself to any such rule, he can only ring a new change on the low life

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above stairs, which forms the staple of the novels regularly imported from England, and which are enough to make the angels weep, if any there be, which have charge of the taste or morals of our country.

We shall only mention one other special charge brought against the novelist—it is, that there is a sameness in his characters—one bears too much resemblance to another—thus, Helen McGregor, Meg Merrilies, and Norna, have been called, absurdly enough, copies from the same original, and other Macedon and Monmouth resemblances have been discovered, in which it has been thought that one portrait was taken with little alteration from the other. But the author draws from nature, and there is a sameness in nature. One mountain resembles another, one valley resembles another, and we should argue ill of the success of the painter, who should endeavor to represent a hill or vale unlike any that ever existed, or were ever painted before. So the varieties of feature in the human race cannot be very great either in face or mind; the innumerable shades of difference that we see, depend upon expression; and any hasty or unobservant eye, which does not notice this expression, will think that every man bears a wonderful resemblance to every other man. The more delicate touches which make up the expression of character, will wholly escape him. It is such observers, only, who have complained of the sameness of character in the Waverley novels; the author has faults, doubtless, but this is not one of them. His later works are received with less enthusiasm, than the first; but the reason is not, that he repeats, but that he does not repeat his characters and descriptions; for the earlier scenes of Waverley, Guy Mannering, and the Antiquary, came upon us with a freshness and a surprising charm, which the author could not from the nature of things, equal or renew, even if time had doubled his ability. We cannot live upon luxuries, without losing something of our passion for them; it is quite too hard to blame the author for the liberality with which he has dealt out his treasures, and so far as we can discover, the principal reason for complaining of his later works, is, that they are not the first.

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, we must say, that nothing seems more groundless than the charge that historical romances make us indifferent to real history. This is easily answered. The introduction of real history either helps the interest of the work, or it does not. If it do not, we are in-

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different to real history already, and the novel will not make us more so; if it do, history must have some charm of its own, which gives to the novel much of its attraction. The common impression seems to be, that fiction is the same with falsehood; so far from this, we apprehend that there is more truth in Scott's Old Mortality or Shakspeare's Richard III. than in so many pages of Hume. The poets choose the fiction, as the form which will give the most exact representation of the events and manners of the time; they adopt it for the sake of a nearer approach to truth;—and thus a reader of Waverley will get a far more just idea of the Pretender's inroads in 1745, than a hundred such books as Home's Rebellion would afford him; in fact all histories put together would not tell us half so much truth concerning the Highlands, a most curious and interesting subject, as we can gather in an hour from Waverley and Rob Roy. The scenes as well as the characters represent, not individuals, but classes, and therefore the fiction is less liable to error than history; still the highest praise we claim for it is, that it furnishes colors to fill up the broad outline, which the exact historian has drawn. As for its making us indifferent to history, it seems to us that ignorance is the great cause of indifference in all things. Make a man acquainted with a subject, and his indifference ends; he inevitably becomes interested, more or less, in one way or another; and we believe, that thousands who have been struck with detached portions of history, as exhibited in Scott's magic lantern, have gone to the fountains of authentic information to learn more of what had so delighted them, and thus made themselves familiar with many chronicles, to which they had lived and died strangers but for him. But allow that the charge is true; the novel is soon read—the novelist is mortal—we have evidence enough, that no living writer can make his place good, and in the natural course of things, it is not to be expected, that another of equal talent in the same department, shall rise for many generations. Then those who have read history in his writings, will be driven by their famine to the sources from which his information was drawn. The interest once excited, cannot easily go down;—but when its luxuries fail, will content itself with a meaner supply.

Having thus answered as well as we are able, the objections to the form and character of these works, we shall not feel as if we were out of place in speaking of Scott's peculiar qualifi-

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cations for this kind of writing; a subject which has not been discussed in this Journal.

We should certainly mention his good sense as the most remarkable of the original elements of his intellectual character; for, improved as it has been by experience and acquaintance with human nature, he must have inherited an unusual share. We mean the power of judging, balancing and comparing; the power of fixing a steady eye, and giving a rapid decision upon the creations of his own genius; the power of holding with a firm hand the reins of a quick imagination, which, uncontrolled or misguided, whirls away its possessor to destruction; but rightly managed and governed, bears him on eagles' wings to the highest victories and glories of the mind. In the common walks of life this good sense is not uncommon, and appears in the easy confidence, with which its owner moves right onward to his object, where others hesitate and despair. But in the common walks of life there is not usually much imagination to control, and this good sense does not become a remarkable endowment, till we see its effect in ruling the fancies and passions of a gigantic mind. What such a mind will be without it, we see in Byron, whose passions, fired by imagination, were as wild and ungovernable as a rover's crew; of itself it will not make a man great; but no man can have any sure and lasting greatness without it; and it is so apt to be wanting, that we do not esteem it too highly, when we call it the chief distinction of this great author's mind. In invention, he is generally thought to be wanting, and we suspect that here the common opinion would place Miss Edgeworth before him; but without disparaging her admitted claims, we would suggest, that Homer and Virgil took advantage of national traditions; Milton borrowed much of his subject from popular theology, though very little from the Scriptures. Shakspeare, as every one knows, made use of the penny tracts and novels of his day; and if on this ground only we impeach Scott's character for invention, we must allow, that all these other great names have worn a glory not their own. The supply of materials is nothing without the power to use them. Supply two architects with marble, and while one will make a lime-kiln, the other will build a temple for the wonder of ages, lifting up a front, which harmonizes with the calm sky, as if it were sculptured from a bright evening cloud.

It is the good sense of this writer, which trims the lamp of

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his imagination. Never was a fancy more fertile, various and brilliant; but there is nothing fitful about it; it spreads a steady and never-failing brightness all round, while his late rival, Byron, might have said of himself, like Mahomet: 'When the lightning flashes we go on by its light; when it vanishes into darkness, we stand still.' It is this union of sense and sensibility, which gives the charm to Scott's other writings; let his subject be Demonology, or what it may, he never plunges into profound discussion; he always keeps far within the limits of his power, and writes as if sensible remark, lively fancy, and playful humor were all that the subject required. Had he never written his poems or novels, he would have been thought too homely, and matter-of-fact for poetry; and this proves that he brings to every subject, precisely that kind and degree of power, which it requires. This is the reason, why he is thought deficient in the inventive faculty, because men do not perceive, that as he was generally writing to illustrate some portion of history, the invention of character was more wanted than facts, which were every where furnished to his hand. A story requires no great consistency; nothing can be more strange and wild than the romances, in which real life abounds; but an invented character, to have the air of life, must be consistent in every part, and under all circumstances, into which it can be thrown; and to describe it well, is one of the hardest enterprises of the mind.

The character of Sir Walter Scott's mind appears in his style, which though more careless in his later writings, is simple, expressive, and at times very eloquent in its flow. The style, where it is unborrowed, is always an index of the mind. The clearest minds express themselves most clearly; and wherever we find a dim and hazy style, like that which is coveted by some writers of the day, in which common thoughts are paraded with an outline as vast and shadowy as Ossian's ghosts, instead of puzzling over it as many do, believing that it must be very fine if one could discover its meaning, we take it for granted that the obscurity is in the writer's mind, and that no light need be expected there. There are popular writers in prose and verse, who can express themselves with force and plainness in ordinary affairs; but let philosophy or poetry be named, and, to use the words of the town clerk of Edinburgh, 'they are off and up in the air a hundred miles above common sense and comprehension.' We regard it as one of the proofs

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of Scott's ability, that he never subsides into this mysticism, or if he imagine unspeakable things, does not attempt to utter them. So far from such vain attempts, he generally keeps far within the ascertained limits of his strength, and thus gives the impression, particularly in his earlier poems, that however much the present effort may surprise the world, he is capable of far higher exertions. Compare Scott's style with that of the children of the mist, Coleridge for example, and it is easy to perceive, that the superior clearness is not merely in expression, but in the mind. The fate of the 'subtle doctor,' who, when he was old, wept, because he could not understand his own books, should be a warning to all such writers.

Scott's education, as well as his natural ability, qualified him admirably well for that enterprise, on which his fame is destined to rest. He describes his course of self-education in the studies of Waverley; these were about as systematic and self-denying, as what Peter Poundtext called his studies, viz. 'reading an ancient theological treatise, with a pipe in his mouth, and a small jug of ale beside him.' It seems, that he cast himself into the sea of books without any thing but his own pleasure to guide him. He was master of Milton and Shakspeare, of the old English dramatic authors, of the descriptive and striking passages of ancient chronicles, of all manner of voyages and travels, and all the portions of literature, likely to interest a luxurious and vagrant mind. But he was not confined to the resources of his own language; beside the classical authors required by a liberal education, he was familiar with the treasures of chivalrous learning afforded by the Spanish and Italian, and the endless variety of French memoirs and romances. At the age of fifteen, he had the misfortune to break a blood-vessel, and as some compensation for a confinement and starvation of several weeks, he was permitted to read at pleasure all such works as a large circulating library supplied. Had he not possessed the good sense of which we have spoken, such early excesses would have enervated his mind; they would have entirely unfitted most men for success in literature or any profession, which requires any concentration of the intellectual powers; but with him the case was different; and to this miscellaneous reading is it owing, that he has now an anecdote or illustration at hand on all occasions. To others, such treasures would be like the rubbish of the antiquary's collections; but with him, nothing is lost;

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he finds a way to convert them all into materials for the use of his mind.

With a mind thus fitted to throw a romantic coloring upon every thing, the time of Scott's youth was eminently suited to cherish his peculiar taste. Children with this disposition take pleasure in listening to narrative old age; and it so happened, that the veterans of the day were those who had been out in the 'Forty-five,' as it was called, when the Scotch, with a generous self-devotion, however mistaken the cause, made a last effort to replace their own Stuarts on the British throne. It is true, the exiled family were wholly unworthy of this attachment; but there was nothing in the characters of the Brunswick line, which could tend, by contrast, to throw them into deeper shadow; and believing, as the Highland Chieftains did, that the Stuarts were wronged, their loyalty rose into a noble feeling. We can all remember the deep interest with which we thought of the exiled Bourbon race, till they and their allies contrived to change the sympathy of the world into scorn; and may be able therefore to form some idea of the attachment of the Scotch to an unfortunate royal line, which sprang from the bosom of their own country. We learn from Scott himself, that he took every opportunity of gathering these traditions, from the actors in those scenes, or their children; and though his prejudices were all in favor of the Protestant succession, his soul must have been on fire at the recital of the brutal revenge inflicted on his native land by Cumberland, after the battle of Culloden, and William, of 'glorious and immortal memory,' at the massacre of Glencoe. The effect of this youthful influence is easily seen in his works; his politics lead him in one direction, and his sympathies in another. He is not willing to declare Mary Stuart a murderess upon the testimony of men, who united the profession of saints with the malice and cunning of evil spirits; and applies to her case the maxim of the law, which presumes her innocent, or rather reserves his judgment till she is proved guilty, which she never yet has been. He defends the memory of the unfortunate Chevalier against disappointed friends and illiberal foes, and does not think it necessary to paint him as unworthy in his youth, because desperation afterwards drove him into debasing crimes. Thus prepared to be impressed by tradition, the history of his country, from early ages down to his own time, was full of inspiration; and as Old Mortality restored the moss-

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grown inscriptions on the tombs, he has engraven with 'an iron pen in the rock forever' the triumphs and sorrows of his native land. In truth, we do not know where he could have found a region more suited to his taste and talent than the Highlands. When he was young, the civil storms had just swept away the clouds which had covered them for ages, and made them a mystery even to those who dwelt in the Lowlands at their feet. To the painter, was disclosed scenery of unequalled wildness and grandeur; to the poet, a display of character equally wild and imposing; while the philosophical observer found there a social system so different from any thing modern, that to climb a few miles from the plain to the mountains, was like passing over ten centuries of time. There were gloomy and ferocious, or chivalrous and accomplished chieftains; vassals at war with all the world, except their own clan, and so faithful to each other, that 'the bands grew the tighter, the more they were wet' with blood. It seemed like a new world revealed on purpose for him to conquer; and if the maxim of the law with respect to right to property be true, he has made the whole realm of Scotland his own.

His natural good sense was enough of itself to save him from being misled in his judgments by romantic associations, but it was aided by the habits of his early life. Though descended from a family of distinguished name, he was not born to wealth, but was obliged to depend for advancement on his own exertions. He was compelled to begin the usual course of a pains-taking lawyer. Had his romantic enthusiasm been too strong, this would have been abundantly sufficient to tame it; and it gave him an acquaintance with human character and the business of life, without which he never could have written his novels; without which he would have made his Fergus like Miss Porter's Wallace; without which he would have made his heroes all virtue, and his villains all evil. Moreover, his acquaintance with the mysteries of the law has been turned to the happiest account in his novels; without it he could have drawn neither Pleydell nor Saddletree. That he never has been enslaved to it, may be seen from the many instances of good-natured satire upon its statutes and provisions, which will doubtless do more than so many motions in Parliament to produce reform. Such is the allusion in the Antiquary to the subject of imprisonment for debt, 'the fugie-warrants ye ken,' and the exultation expressed by the landlord in the same work:

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"It's a beautiful thing to see how lang and carefully justice is considered in this country.' His situation in Edinburgh in early life, made him acquainted with the distinguished men who were then the boast of Scotland, and among the rest with Burns, then in the blaze of his fame, and to appearance distant from the disastrous eclipse in which he at last went down. Little did he anticipate, that the boy who gazed upon him with respectful interest, was afterwards to be a shining light, beside which all others should grow dim.

The character which was thus formed by nature, circumstances, and education, was admirably suited to the work in which he was afterwards to engage. There was not a particle of bitterness in his whole composition; but though a sly and sharp observer of men, seeing through their weaknesses with an almost unerring eye, he always looked upon the bright side when it was possible, and thus was a gainer in accuracy as well as good feeling; for certain it is, that the most charitable judgment of others is apt to be most just. Being fully conscious of possessing a giant's strength, he felt no temptation to use it like a giant; and thus was entirely free from those jealous passions, which make a literary life a life of warfare. He was also free from that nervous anxiety for the success of his productions, which often induces authors to correct and alter their works, till they have lost their peculiar beauties; of which we have an instance in Mrs. Hemans's fine lines on the death of Fergus, and Campbell's Lochiel's Warning. Without any ambition of wit, like Sheridan's, for example, which is often as ungentle and surprising as an electric shock, and which carries more blood-stain than brightness on its edge, Scott has the easy and delightful humor of a good-natured man; it reminds us of the archness of unlabored conversation; and no man can doubt that the same wit, which forms the attraction of his own table at home, lights up the great festival, which he spreads for all the nations. On the whole, as is often said of great men, he seems made for the times, and the enterprise in which he was to engage. This is not a romantic age; and the familiarity which he discovers with law, mercantile business, and the rule of three, has no doubt caused many to turn a moment from the Year-book and Ledger, who in all other cases treat the unprofitable art of poem-making, as the Scotch Presbyterians call it, with utter contempt and derision.

The works, by which he acquired his earliest popularity—a

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favor which the enthusiasm for his novels hardly transcends—were writings of a kind unfitted for the display of humor; and their narrative being entirely romantic, excluded a large proportion of those characters, which he draws with most skill. Such characters as William of Deloraine, are but half revealed; and such as Robin Hood and the Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst—even such as Evan Dhu and the robber Bean Lean, though perfectly at home on romantic ground, could, for obvious reasons, have no place in such writings. Roderick Dhu and Lord Marmion might remain; but the poet was so fettered by the forms of his poem, that he could not possibly develope the character of the last, even so far as to show that his fraud and falsehood were perfectly consistent with his chivalrous character. In the novel, he writes without restraint, and tells all, or what is still better, allows his characters to tell all for themselves. He constantly seemed oppressed before, by the feeling that he was confined to a limited circle; he crowded much antiquarian information into his notes, which to many were as interesting as the poem; information, which in the novel can be wrought gracefully into the texture of the whole, instead of being trailed after it in court-dress fashion. It was to be expected, then, that after a time, those works would decline in public favor, as they did; not so much because the world grew weary of them, nor because they were travestied by a rabble of imitators, as because there was a general feeling that the employment was too youthful for a man of so much talent, and one in which he could not display to the world half the riches of his mind. No such objection could be made to the form of the novel. It will embrace all that man ever did, and all that man ever knew; nothing is above it nor beneath it; it includes with perfect ease and gracefulness all varieties of science, information, profession and character; and as it does not restrain or oppress the writer, it is not likely to change, except by improvement; an improvement which will appear, not so much in the form as in the taste, literature, and moral character of such productions.

Such a change has taken place already, and it is to Scott that we are indebted in part for the progress already made, though we would not forget Miss Edgeworth, whose well-deserved success, we are told, inspired Scott to finish Waverley, when the earliest part of the manuscript had been thrown aside for years. It seems to us, that both surpass such writers as

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Fielding, as much in talent as in moral taste. The question is often asked, what rank will Scott take among our novelists, when time has set its seal upon the reputation of his works? We have no hesitation in saying, that he will stand as much above him in durable fame, as he now does in interest and attraction. Fielding, no doubt, was a great genius, and in this respect, even Scott perhaps is not before him; but native strength will go but little way in such an enterprise; and Fielding was wholly destitute of the refinement and general cultivation, which any large view of life requires. Certain aspects of human nature, can no doubt be seen in a London police-office and prison, or in the lanes and inns of that vast labyrinth of crime; but the very experience which fitted Fielding to describe these with such perfect truth and humor, not to say relish, rendered him utterly incapable of describing happy homes and hearts, or of giving any thing better than a misanthropic picture of a man. He rather describes England, than human life; his best sketches are those of individuals, not of classes; and like other painters of manners, he must give place to those who find their originals in human nature at large, rather than individual characters. We are not insensible to his grave humor; for in solemn irony, even Swift does not exceed him; nor are we sure that we do right to compare his works with those of Scott. This is a parallel like that between Hudibras and the Orlando. We are perfectly aware that Fielding was not what, with better principles and a happier destiny, he might have been; but whatever offence we may give to those who are always ready to say of every thing, 'the old is better,' we are quite resigned to the change of taste, which has removed Tom Jones and Amelia to the highest shelves. It is vain to plead the taste of the times for his indecency; we do not find it in all the works of that day, and if he thought proper thus to defile his pages, he has no one but himself to condemn. He is the suicide of his own fame.

Of Smollett, we should hardly speak in this connexion, except to express our delight that he did not carry into effect a purpose he had formed, of making his native land the scene of some of his fictitious stories. He would certainly have peopled it with strange inhabitants, and would have extracted sufficient amusement from the subject; but it would have been like Sir Roger de Coverley, in the hands of Steele; the fine simplicity which Scott and Burns have identified with the

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Scotch dialect and character, would certainly have vanished under the coarse caricature of his pencil; and by thus forestalling the field, he might have prevented Scott in a later day, from spreading over it a mantle of venerable and pleasing associations. In one respect, he might perhaps have done it more ample justice than Scott; the latter, through respect to the reigning family, has passed much too lightly over the shameful cruelties committed by authority upon the Scotch nation, after their attempts to restore the Stuarts were put down; and has paraded with too much exultation, one or two of those expressions of magnanimity on the part of the Brunswick line, toward their fallen rivals, which, inasmuch as they cost nothing, the victorious party can easily afford to spare. The Scotch had undoubtedly laid themselves open to punishment, but the infliction should have been that of a civilized government, not a savage horde, such as under the authority of the Duke of Cumberland, overran the land. It is but justice to the Stuarts, and their supporters, to show that the spirit of the established succession was little, if any better, than their own.

Of the early English novelists, Richardson deserves to be placed nearest to Scott. Most readers deny the justice of Dr. Johnson's criticism, when he places him before Fielding; but Fielding has an advantage over him, in the unchangeableness of the low life and manners which he describes; they continue the same from generation to generation; no substantial change can take place in the fox-hunting squire, so long as the race endures; and originals may even now be found, to test the truth of Fielding's descriptions. On the contrary, Richardson, though he dealt much more with the human heart and character than Fielding, was minutely accurate in describing dress and manners; things which in the changes of time and fashion become so grotesque, that the bodily presence of Sir Charles Grandison, whose bow was a curvation of the spine, would not be more fatal to the pathetic and sentimental in real life, than he now is in the novel. Still, Richardson was even more than Scott the reformer of his day; he waged war upon the majestic old romances, enormous folios, any one of which might have been the book with which Dr. Johnson felled his bookseller, Osborne; and which, with their brazen clasps and dull red edging, held the same place on the drawing-room table, which a score of annuals now fill. They had an advantage over the present race of novels; now, the reader is unpleasantly brought up by the

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close of the book, a few hours after its interest begins, while the old romance would entertain him from day to day, and from year to year. It was no common power which encountered this heavy artillery, and silenced it forever.

It is really surprising, that the literature of Britain should have furnished so few novels, till a very recent time, when they have broken upon us in a deluge, as if the stream had been dammed for ages. There have been very few novelists by profession, nor can the deficiency be accounted for, by saying, that they wrote in the poetical form; for of epics, how few there are which have left even a name. The Vicar of Wakefield still stands foremost in popularity; Rasselas, though the sentiments are philosophically untrue as well as depressing, is still read. It will be observed, that these two very successful works were written by poets of the first order. Goldsmith was even more at home in verse than prose; and in both expressed himself with that simple eloquence, which goes directly to the heart. Johnson, though not commonly regarded in this light, was distinguished by the poetical character of his mind; much of the power of his argument depended on the bright light of his imagination. Unfortunately, his defect of sight prevented him from enjoying the grand and beautiful in nature, and his bodily infirmities made his fancy rise, except in short flights, with a heavy and flagging wing.

We have slightly alluded to the novelists who stood before the public at the time of Scott's appearance, and who, for a time, seemed to be breathless with amazement at the sight of the new phenomenon. Their satisfaction was not increased by the voices, which they heard from all sides, saying to them, like Sieyes to his associates, when Bonaparte came forward; 'Gentlemen, you have a master.' They retired with one consent from the field, and for a time, no one even attempted to gain a hearing; at length, some solitary voice was heard between the acts; and now, novels of all descriptions swarm upon the reading world. There are few, however, of the vast numbers constantly imported from England, likely to endure; our own country gives us a better supply. Of the British novels, published within the last few years, Cyril Thornton is by far the best; it is a work of real power; in Scotch character and Scotch humor, the writer may contend with the Author of Waverley, with his foot on his native soil, while the more pathetic parts make strong appeals to the heart. Were

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it not for a case of seduction, which the author ascribes to his hero, we should have read it with unmingled pleasure, and we cannot easily account for its attracting so little attention.

One word to readers of the present day. There is a power in scenes and narratives, which implies no power in the writer; and certain writers, without industry or talent, are carrying on an extensive system of imposition. They go to lunatic asylums, and note in their tablets the ravings of the maniac in chains; they study the Newgate Calendar, or write down the confession of some atrocious malefactor; and with these genuine horrors, make a deep impression on the public mind. But the business is wholly mechanical; some paltry wax-work, representing a bloody and ghastly form, may make the strong man start, and women faint away, while the pencil of Michael Angelo could not produce an effect half so striking; but no one is so absurd, as to judge of a work of art from the shock which it gives; if equal judgment were shown in respect to novels, the public taste would no longer be insulted by works, in which such narratives as any veteran knave can furnish, are paraded as splendid specimens of invention and descriptive power.

The edition of Scott's novels, which we have undertaken to notice, is one which has received the final revision of the author; and he has taken advantage of it to communicate to the world the historical facts, on which the incidents and characters in his works are founded. We can well imagine that he did this with a sort of triumph; for it shows that he drew from nothing but the ocean-spring of his own imagination. A few notes relative to matters of fact, are acceptable enough as illustrations; but the traditions which he brings forward as containing the suggestions of such characters as Meg Merrilies, Madge Wildfire, and others, evidently would not help a poor fancy, and would do little more than embarrass a strong one. Altogether we think they might as well have been reserved; for such an air of vivid reality attaches to his descriptions, that we think of all his events and characters as if they had really existed. We are rather vexed at being told, on the best authority, that they are nothing more than life-like fictions; we almost say as Bentley did of Horace, 'Yea, if he were now here and swore it, I would not believe him.'

In Waverley, there is little taken from tradition, though the whole story, otherwise loosely constructed, is held together by

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that thread of history which is known to all. The Chevalier is a historical character; a young prince, who believed that his father had the same right to his kingdom that others have to their estates; and who, if he had been told at the moment of invasion that the majority of the nation had a right, and were disposed to reject him, would have replied, that this question was the one to be decided. The author has painted the character of this young prince in bright colors, and the evidence of facts bears him out in so doing. It is not surprising that a dethroned and discrowned sovereign, or one who has seen that hope, which is brighter than a crown, deferred and destroyed, should fall into excesses in exile, poverty and humiliation, to which, in better days, he was a stranger. This was evidently the case with Charles Edward. In the days of Waverley, he was a brave and romantic young adventurer, who, so long as his prosperity lasted, possessed the attachment of all about him, but who, as usual, found enough to act the hyæna as soon as he was fallen. The evidence of Dr. King against him, is that of a disappointed partisan, who deserted his cause. If he were as spiritless and enervated as he is often represented, it seems difficult to account for his return to England in 1759, which seems to have been putting his head into the lion's mouth. Historians do not mention this last and most hopeless endeavor; but Dr. King testifies, that Charles Edward actually visited London in disguise; and we remember a conversation in Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, in which a chieftain stated to Dr. Johnson, that the Chevalier was at that time in England. The romance of Redgauntlet is founded on this incident, which involved no serious consequences. We have no doubt, then, that Charles Edward, though afterwards miserably changed, was in youth what Scott describes him.

This is the character in which the novelist was aided by the history of the times, and it strikes every reader as precisely the one in which no such aid was needed. It might have been drawn by a very inferior hand. But the Baron of Bradwardine, with his pedantry and ancestral vanity, so oddly mingled with good sense, courage, and generous feeling; Fergus, whose noble bearing on the memorable trial, makes us forget how fiery and unreasonable he had been; Evan, whose attachment to his chieftain had become a part of his nature; Baillie Macwheeble, who pauses in the moment of capture, to set down a 'sma' minute' to make matters sure; the high-souled

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and lovely Flora; the equally lovely and gentle Rose, are all creations of the author's genius. It seems to us, that the want of interest complained of in the character of Waverley, arises from its truth to nature. What more natural, than that one educated as he had been, should be acted upon by the force of circumstances? They know little of human nature, who think that such a character cannot have much that is high and manly to redeem its failings and errors.

Now it is not a little singular, that the Baron's returning into danger to rescue his Titus Livius, and the stratagem by which Janet Gellatly, when on trial for witchcraft, routed her judicial persecutors, and also the stratagem, by which Davie misled the soldiers, who were in pursuit of the Baron, all which circumstances would, especially the first, be pronounced the most unnatural in the book, are incidents, which actually happened. And no doubt many a narrative might be drawn to the letter from real life, which critics would pronounce decidedly unnatural, for the same reason which makes a French connoisseur think a tragedy of Addison more natural than Shakspeare's; because he has an idea of what nature requires firmly fixed in his mind, and compares every thing with this in preference to real life, thinking that if it be not nature, it is something better than nature.

The manner in which Waverley was written, will hereafter be quoted as a curious piece of literary history. Inspired, as he tells us, by the recollections and traditions of the 'Forty-five,' the author wrote, in 1805, about one third part of the first volume of Waverley. It was advertised to be published under the title of 'Waverley, or 'tis Fifty Years Since,' the latter part of the title having been afterwards altered. The author showed the manuscript to a friend, (it had then reached the seventh chapter,) whose opinion was unfavorable, and the work was thrown by into an old writing desk, where it lay forgotten till after his removal to Abbotsford in 1811. Afterwards the fame of Miss Edgeworth, and an ambition to render Scotland as interesting as she had made her own land, induced him to search for the unfinished manuscript, which was no where to be found, till one day, in looking for some fishing-tackle, it came to light in the old desk aforesaid, which had kept Horace's advice to the letter, for the work was published in 1814. Its progress was at first slow, and its fate was the same in this country, not from want of taste in the public to discover

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its merits, but from want of a name in the title-page to induce them to read it. As soon as it gained a hearing, its success was brilliant; the gale of popular favor, which has not since changed, beat upon it in a perfect storm.

Guy Mannering followed Waverley, though with a considerable interval between; for it was not till the success of Waverley was certain, that the author was induced to try his fortune again. In this new attempt he did not lean upon history, as in the other; and the consequence has been, that, although incomparably beyond Waverley in its first impression, it is now generally thought inferior; because Waverley not only abounds in historical fact, but breathes the living spirit of the times it describes; while Guy Mannering describes nature and manners without reference to any particular age. Perhaps even now, any one reading these works for the first time, would give the preference to Guy Mannering; such is the rapid flow of the narrative, the dazzling variety of character, and the strong romantic interest attached to the scenes in which the gypsies appear. The author informs us, that he began with the intention of resting the interest of the story upon the accidental correctness of an astrological prediction. This accounts for the aspect of the earliest chapters. Happily he became aware of his mistake before he had gone too far, and now the astrology of the novel, without amounting to superstition, carries with it that slight degree of mystery, which recommends itself in an unaccountable manner to the most rational minds. It is now a story not far removed from ordinary life, and is remarkable for its containing the only decided failure of the author in his attempt to draw a heroine; such is the common opinion with respect to Miss Mannering, and it is a verdict in which we entirely agree.

When these works were in their height of interest and favor, various attempts were made to show the author's want of originality, and traditions were brought forward in several journals, from which it was said that the scenes and characters were drawn. It now appears that the formidable person who brought the author to justice was no other than himself; we have already mentioned the instance in the Quarterly Review. The appearance of Guy Mannering called forth another in Blackwood's Magazine. There it was stated, that the original of Meg Merrilies was a gypsy, named Gordon, a remarkable person, who resembled the fictitious character in her energy,

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fidelity, and influence with her lawless tribe. The adventure of Dinmont with the robbers, and the part borne in it by Meg, were also historically true. In this last edition, we are told that Dominie Sampson was taken from one who was an original in every sense of the word; a simple and faithful tutor, who supported his patron's daughter by his exertions, and treated her with the same affectionate respect, when her father's death had left her poor and dependent on him. We are glad of this, for the honor of human nature. The author also mentions sundry other personages, from whom his characters were taken, such as Yarskins, a Dutch smuggler; stating by way of commentary, that he has been informed of this by creditable persons, though it was unknown to him till after the work appeared. The truth is, however, that these characters develope themselves in their conversation, which could not well have been copied from the living letter; and with these few materials upon his hands, the author is like one to whom a subject is prescribed, somewhat more embarrassed than when left to choose his own.

We are told that the funeral scene described in the novel, has had the effect to produce a reform in Edinburgh, in respect to the decency of such transactions. The character of Dandie Dinmont was assigned by common consent to Mr. James Davidson of Hindlee, who besides the points of honesty, bluntness and hardihood, had a family of dogs whose generic names were Pepper and Mustard. An English lady of rank, wishing to possess some animals of this distinguished line, took the direct course of addressing a letter to Mr. Dinmont, with which direction it reached Mr. Davidson, who failed not to appropriate the name, and grant the request. Two of the dogs now reside in the family of the author, and it is to be hoped, express themselves grateful by their services, for the gift of immortality. These little incidents are interesting, and show how strong is the persuasion of the reality of the story; the historian may bless his stars, who is able to leave half as distinct an impression of the truth of his narrative on the minds of his readers, though he gives chapter and verse for every fact which he records.

The Antiquary was the immediate successor of Guy Mannering, and like Waverley, was more slow in making its way into favor; but not for the same reason. The readers of that work could not relish it at first, because the manners it de-

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scribes were wholly new; they made the same mistake with Waverley himself, when, from ignorance of the Highland manners, he took the haughty Fergus for the thief-taker of the district; nor is it surprising that there was something fatal to all romance in the collectors of black-mail, and stealers of cattle; when circumstances so slight are sufficient to quench all enthusiasm in common life, it is easy to account in this instance for the holding back of general applause. But the fate of the Antiquary, which from being the least popular, is now as a whole, the favorite work of the author, is embraced in the usual destiny of great productions in all the arts; not less in music and painting than poetry; a destiny which promises the more enduring fame, to that which is less relished at first. So well is this fact established and so generally known, that we at once apprehend, that there may be more finery than real excellence, in that which charms us at the first hearing. Works of genius require study and will bear it. Sir Joshua Reynolds tells us, that he was not struck with Raphael's paintings till after long study and attention, and such a taste, like that for olives, is likely to last, when that which pleased at once is forgotten.

In admitting the public behind the curtain, we learn with respect to the Antiquary, that the character of Oldbuck was taken from real life. The original was a friend of the author's youth, who resembled the Antiquary in learning, wit and quaintness of expression; but excepting the scene with the owner of the stage-coach, nothing in the fiction bears any resemblance to the circumstances of the original. It seems that the likeness was striking enough to endanger the secret of the author; for a person who knew this original and his intimacy with the family of Scott, declared himself satisfied, that he had discovered the Great Unknown. Edie the mendicant, is the representative of a class, and was drawn from two or three originals, each of whom had something in common with the beggar of the story. Beyond this it does not appear, that any thing was supplied by history or tradition. The common impression is, that Fairport represents Aberbrothic, where are still seen the ruins of an abbey of some note in the ancient history of Scotland; but the author does not confirm this, and from his frankness in making all such admissions, we may infer, that it is not true. We believe that some regret is generally felt, that Miss Wardour was not more distinguished from other young ladies, and the false alarm at the close might have seemed a lame con-

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clusion, had it not been borne out by many similar scenes in this country and Great Britain during the late war, when, as every one remembers, the mistake was ludicrous, but the excitement was sublime. There are one or two ill-managed scenes, and the German weighs somewhat heavily on many parts of the story; but what must those faults be, which the aged Elspeth and the funeral at the cottage fail to redeem?

In the preface to the Antiquary the author intimated, that his course was at an end, remembering probably, that his poetical works had declined in public favor, and wishing to halt in this new enterprise, before he should be troubled with indifference on the part of readers. But he must have soon discovered, that there was no such danger, and that there was no need of reasoning from one case to the other; for if the time were ever to come, when the world would be weary of his productions, it was then as distant as any thing human could be. His purpose of silence must have been contingent, and he did wisely to break it, for no one of his works has fixed itself more strongly on the imagination than Rob Roy. This is partly owing to Diana Vernon, a bewitching vision, whose wildness, sense and beauty, inspired more interest for the time, than even Flora Mac Ivor. There were contrasts in her character fully accounted for by her situation, but romantic in the highest degree; and similar contrasts made the ground-work of the novel. A Highland robber is brought into intimate union with the most homely and practical person who could be found in Glasgow; those who proposed to drain Loch Lomond are within sight of the wildest aspects of nature and social life. The confusion is as striking as in Mr. Stewart's congregation at the Sandwich islands, where the fashionable coat of the day stood side by side with a faded revolutionary uniform, a ruffled shirt by a frame which never felt the want of such a blessing, and a lady of rank paraded in the latest style of Broadway, fully equipped with every luxury, excepting stockings and shoes.

Here, Rob Roy, who gives the name and much of the interest to the work, is, except as far as his conversation goes, entirely drawn from history; and the same is true of his wife, whose wrongs and vengeance are not overstated; the tradition is, that she stood by his bedside when he was dying, with an exhortation similar to that of the wife of Job, and received a still sharper reply. The real history of this person is given by

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Nicol Jarvie in the novel with exactness, and about the right tone of moral feeling. The knavery of Highland rovers was looked upon in that day, with the same indulgence which is now accorded to that of statesmen, and it was not to be supposed, that a desperate and broken-hearted outlaw, would become a teacher of morality and reform. If circumstances be weighed and balanced, he was no more guilty than many a citizen who passes for conscientious, because he confines his operations to that wide reach of dishonesty, which lies within the limits of the law. But we would say nothing in defence of any doubtful character, and allowing the Highlander to be as bad as the most captious critics would make him, Scott has recommended him to our compassionate respect and not as our example. It is impossible (as many moralists would have us) to pronounce the same single sentence upon character, which we do upon persons; if a criminal be brought to the bar, some traits of generosity are not allowed to excuse him, because there is no such retribution as that which Zoroaster saw, where a foot was receiving its reward in Heaven for kicking food to a starving animal, while all the rest of the owner's person was suffering in the flames. But with respect to character, there are some traits which we abhor, and others which we venerate and love, and so long as we have to do with mixed characters, we must regard them with mixed feelings. We shall not, therefore, when we pronounce Byron an unprincipled libertine, forget that he was a mighty genius and unfortunate in his early influences, nor shall we do the same with respect to fictitious character; this wholesale condemnation is, no doubt, an easy process, but beside being unjust, it throws the sympathy of the world into the wrong direction; if the guilty be punished beyond reason, men inevitably take their part.

The next work with which the author astonished the world, was the 'Tales of my Landlord, taken down by Peter Pattison, and given to the public by Jedediah Cleishbotham, after the decease of the said Peter.' These introductions showed the unbounded resources of his fancy. Of themselves, they would exhaust the invention of an ordinary mind; and the novels themselves do not contain two characters better sustained, than the gentle and simple-hearted teacher, and his consequential superior and patron. The first of these tales is the Black Dwarf, the plan of which seems to have engaged the author,

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without much consideration whether it was suited to a work intended to give pleasure. The original was David Richie, who, in person, and most points of character, is exactly described, but unlike the Dwarf, was humble and poor. He was bred a brush-maker in Edinburgh; but the painful notoriety which his appearance gave him, and the insulting gaze to which he was exposed, induced him to leave the city. He found, after removing to various places, that he could not escape persecution without withdrawing from society altogether. He then built a small hut on a wild moorland, and afterwards held as little communion as possible with the world. But he could not get rid of his jealousy and wounded spirit; and any slight smile or neglect in the chance visiters of his retreat, fired him at once into insanity. It was evident, that such a story might admit of much powerful writing; but pity and horror would be the feelings most naturally excited. Such a spectre would throw a gloom over the whole narrative, which no scenes of an opposite character could entirely do away. This is felt by every reader of the Black Dwarf; and we cannot but regret, that the author should have published it in its present unfinished form. It is so short, that the Dwarf casts his shadow entirely over it; and in his character we find too little of the love of nature, which did much to soften the feelings of the original. The history is too interesting to be omitted. It seems that this attachment to the loveliness of nature sprang up in his heart like the diamond of the desert; he found friends in the silent objects about him, which, without speech or language, breathed consolation to his desolate spirit, when man had almost driven him to despair.

The author was induced to crowd into one volume a story which was meant to occupy two, by the advice of a friend, who assured him that the idea of the Dwarf was of a kind too revolting for the purposes of a novel. This was true, but the difficulty was only increased by hastening to its conclusion, and the better course would have been, either to have carried out the original plan, or not have published it at all. But when a work has become distasteful to a writer, it is hard to go on and complete it,—perhaps impossible for him to do it justice, unless he writes with all his heart; so that if some other course had been preferable, he probably took the only one which was left him; and we confess, that we should have been sorry to lose the domestic scenes of the Elliots, though the work as a whole leaves a melancholy impression.

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Fortunately for the Black Dwarf, it was leagued with the story of Old Mortality, and was forgotten in the success of the latter. The name is not descriptive of a single character or circumstance in the novel; but it was borne by a person who is exactly described in the introduction to the work,—a harmless enthusiast, whose mind had been unhinged by enthusiasm in early life,—who, like David Deans, could not sit down contented with the 'carnal self-seeking times,' which had followed the days of persecution and martyrdom. The only employment that suited his sorrowing spirit, was that of travelling through Scotland, with his chisel and hammer, to build, burnish, or repair, the sepulchres of the Cameronian righteous, whose memory had passed away, like the smoke of engagement from the field of blood. Scott himself saw and conversed with this person, whose name was Robert Patterson. He died in 1801, leaving three sons, one of whom came over to Baltimore in 1776.

In this work the author is indebted to history for the main incidents with which the fiction is interwoven, such as the actions of Bothwell bridge and Loudon hill, and above all for the character of Claverhouse, which is evidently a favorite with him, and whether in history or the fiction, is a most singular specimen of human nature. No one denies, that he was brave, and at times generous, with something lofty in his ambition, which contrasted strangely enough with the savage fidelity with which he discharged a trust, that would have been more properly delegated to an executioner than to a cavalier and man of honor. He was beautiful almost to effeminacy in his person, graceful and courtly in his manners, but one of the most ferocious leaders that ever thundered in the front of war. With him is contrasted another historical personage, Balfour of Burley, a ruffian who made use of one shred of religious enthusiasm to cover a thousand sins. Both these characters, with all their seeming inconsistency, are true to fact; were it not so, critics would have long ago set them down as the most extravagant and unnatural the author's pencil ever drew. A descendant of the latter has undertaken to defend his ancestor; but where the deeds are such as can neither be denied nor defended, the advocate may as well be still.

Most of the fanatics of the novel represent a class, and those who feel an interest in the annals of that day, are indebted to Scott for presenting them in a living and breathing form. Much

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fault has been found with the author for holding up the Cameronians to abhorrence and derision; but we know of no beings who ever deserved it more than a great proportion of their number. We honor their piety and self-devotion; we respect the firmness with which they maintained their rights and principles; but when enthusiasm rises to excess, it stands upon the verge of imposture, and it is wholly impossible to believe, that all, even of that which passed the furnace, was gold. We have no doubt that the author has given them credit for all they deserve, both of good and evil, though nothing which contains an admission of their infirmities can be expected to satisfy those who look upon them as saints and martyrs. There is a certain point to which we can believe that mistaken zeal may go in all sincerity; but when it begins to cry out for persecution and thirst for blood, we more than suspect, that without the enthusiast being conscious of it, his earthly passions are rising, and his religious feeling dying away. We do not believe that pure enthusiasm can lead a man to suppose himself released from the command 'thou shalt not kill;' yet the friendly historian of the Covenanters says, that Mr. Hamilton commanded at Drumclog, and 'some, contrary to his express command,' gave quarter to their enemies, and let them go. 'This greatly grieved Mr. Hamilton, when he saw Babel's brats spared, after that the Lord had delivered them into their hands, that they might dash them against the stones.' The same wretch put to death a prisoner with his own hand in cold blood, and speaking of it some time afterwards said, 'I bless the Lord for it unto this day.' Verily, such feelings are like the white ants of the West Indies, which eat into the wooden frame of houses, and as fast as they consume it, fill up the cavity with stone.

Beyond this the author is not indebted to history, though the spirit of history breathes through it all. Lauderdale indeed is described in the memoirs of those times, but the author might have invented a character for the purpose with less trouble. Serjeant Bothwell really existed—a descendant of the noble family of that name, whose habits had reduced him to the condition of a common soldier; but the fiction has borrowed from the original nothing but his name. The tower of Tillietudlem is imaginary, but somewhat resembles the ruins of Craignethan castle. The greatest objection to this work is the close, when Lord Evandale, who has interested the reader so much throughout by his generosity, is so suddenly murdered;

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but estimable characters in real life are often removed quite as suddenly; and no one says that it is not according to nature. The charm, however, does not depend on the consistency of the narrative, but the characteristic conversations, and the rich display of portraits, representing the spirit and manners of the times. The simple and kind old lady, who had entertained his Most Sacred Majesty in her tower,—the brave old Major, beginning to fight his battles over again under the touch of years,—the admirable Cuddie and his mither,—the miser Milnwood and his house-keeper Mistress Wilson,—the widow who sat in her red cloak by the road, and the little girl who guides Morton to the Black Linn, are so perfect in their kind, that the reader must be difficult to please, who can stop to criticise one or two faults in the story. Nothing has been more remarkable, and we dare say more gratifying to the author, than the obstinacy with which his readers insisted on being pleased, when critics made it as clear as the day that all was wrong. Faults were pointed out in vain; still the readers kept on, like the English at Waterloo, not knowing when they were beaten. We can imagine that some other conclusion of the story would have been more agreeable to our feelings; but after all, the effect of the work is the test; this has been recorded, and now it cannot be altered.

The information now for the first time communicated by the author, with respect to the Heart of Mid Lothian, is full of interest. It is honorable to the public, as well as the writer, that a heroine in humble life, without education, beauty, or romantic feeling, and admired, if at all, for her energetic virtue alone, should have acquired more extensive popularity than any other of the wonderful images which have passed before the public eye. The original was named Helen Walker, and the facts were communicated in a letter to the author while he was yet unknown, by a Mrs. Goldie. She stated that she had met this person twenty-six years before in a place a few miles from Dumfries. She was then an old woman, rather stout in form, with eyes remarkably bright and expressive, living in a very humble way, but looked upon by the neighbors as reserved and proud, because unwilling to speak of the circumstances which had brought dishonor on her name. In 1736, the time described in the novel, her sister Isabella was condemned to die for the same crime with Effie Deans. Helen was called upon to give evidence in court in the same manner with Jeanie

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Deans, and, like her, stated to the counsel that she could not swear to a falsehood. The same day Helen procured a petition stating the circumstances, and the same night set out on foot for London. As in Madame Cottin's Elizabeth, the difficulties she encountered are understated in the fiction; for without introduction of any kind, she presented herself to the Duke of Argyle, and having by his means procured a pardon, returned with it on foot in time to save her sister. Isabella afterwards married her seducer. This is one of the cases in which truth puts imagination to shame. The whole world has rung with the reply of Ledyard, when asked how soon he would proceed to Africa; but here was energy and enterprise infinitely beyond it. Helen died in 1791, and was buried in the church-yard of Irongray; the daughter of Mrs. Goldie wished to place a monument on her grave, with an inscription by Sir Walter Scott; he anticipated her wishes; but brass and marble are too frail to bear the record of such deeds; he had raised a monument already, which will endure till the last eye that can read it is closed in death.

The history of the Porteous mob might be tranferred to a history of Edinburgh, almost without alteration. The account of Robertson's deliverance is given as it actually happened. A singular mystery still hangs over this transaction, which reminds one in some respects, of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. Scott thought himself at one time in a fair way of tracing out some of the actors, but the clue failed, and all again was dark as ever. We should infer from the accounts of the transaction, that the whole population of the city was accessary, either by direct agency or encouragement; so long as penalties hung over them none would dare to confess their own share in it, nor would the popular feeling allow any one to inform against another. When all the actors in the conspiracy were dead, their children, who had not been wrought upon by the same passions, must have viewed the matter in a different light, and it may readily be supposed, that they would not wish to make such an affair conspicuous in the memory of their fathers. In this way matters are often concealed from history, which are known to thousands.

The Maniac was suggested by a harmless person, known by the name of Feckless Fanny; but in order to avoid a resemblance to Sterne's Maria, into which the original would have led him, he altered it so much, that no traces of the first con-

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ception remain. The Tolbooth, which makes such a distinguished figure in the novel, was removed in 1817, and on that occasion, the gateway and door of the ancient prison were presented to Sir Walter Scott. They now form the entrance of the kitchen-court at Abbotsford.

There have been objections made to this work, and one is, as our papers say of the news, highly important if true. It is, that the moral effect is not good; the villain who caused all the misery of the story, and the unfortunate victim of his seduction, are transferred to a station in which they enjoy whatever wealth, rank and fashion can give. This is not the fact; they are not represented as enjoying any thing, but as leading a life made wretched by mutual reproach and self-upbraiding; while their rank is but the 'gilding of their woe,' and the author makes it sufficiently evident that none can enjoy it without health at heart. But it would have been easy to alter all this. By a single dash of his pen, the author could have brought them to justice; but he knew better, and has acted upon the principle that a writer gives the right aspect to vice, when he represents it as destroying the peace beyond the power of riches and honors to repair it; and the right reward to virtue, when he secures for it the universal applause of men.

At some future time we may resume the subject, and if we do nothing more, may save some readers the trouble of picking out the information which Scott has given with respect to the materials which have suggested his scenes and characters. All such information only shows how little he needs to borrow, or rather how much he overpays; for whenever he takes a scene from history, he repairs its faded colors, sets it in a proper light, and gives it a force and reality which it never had before.

For this reason, among others, we are glad to see this edition. Such works should be in a cheap and accessible form; families may read them with instruction as well as pleasure; we lament the want of discrimination amounting to folly, which sets down all works that bear the name of novels as if they came under the same description, and warns us against reading novels as if they were not as various in moral and intellectual character as all other productions of the mind. There are novels which have an extensive circulation among us, and are not a little admired by the very young, which are vile as respects moral sentiment, and contemptible in their literary

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pretensions; those who degrade Scott to the level of such writers not only libel him, but they injure the cause which they profess to have at heart; for some novels will be read, and if they tell their children that such works are all alike, their children will be as likely to choose the worse as the better, believing that equal injustice is done to all by such sweeping condemnation. Such remarks as these may seem out of date in the nineteenth century; but less than half a dozen years ago, a divine of respectable character and great influence lifted up his voice in warning against novels at large, while he allowed other poems to retain the place of which it seemed hopeless to deprive them. It is hard to say which were the most marvellous, his prohibitions or exemptions; to us it seems better to discriminate; this legal process *castigat auditque* seems better calculated for the region to which Virgil confines it, than for ours. It is like the French revolutionary practice of taking off the prisoner, and investigating the merits of his sentence at the next convenient time.

One thing we would suggest to all concerned in publishing future editions of these novels. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the prints which they afford us. When we see a sketch of a scene, which has impressed itself on our minds like those of Shakspeare and Scott, we are sure to be disappointed; for, however good in itself, it is not what we expected and wished to see. Let any one look at the prints of Nicol Jarvie with his red-hot coulter, or Duncan of Knockdunder at the table, and he will feel that such attempts are provoking; these poor efforts to represent the scene, only serve to disturb our vivid imaginations. Any one who wishes to illustrate these novels, should give representations of the scenes described in them; the sketch of the Grass-market in this edition, is worth all the rest of the prints put together; it is not every one who can visit Rob Roy's cave, and millions would be grateful to any artist who should furnish such views, to give compactness and unity in their minds to the author's local descriptions.

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ART. VI. *British and American Shipping.*

1. *The Merchant, Ship-Owner, and Ship-Master's Import and Export Guide.* By CHARLES POPE. London. 1828, 8vo. pp. 815. Fourteenth edition.
2. *Speech of Right Honorable William Huskisson in the House of Commons.* May, 1827.

We propose to devote a few pages to the consideration of the shipping and commerce of Great Britain and the United States. The importance of a flourishing commercial marine to the United States, with regard to national prosperity and individual wealth and comfort, is too clear to need explanation. It is likewise essential to our security against foreign aggression, the paramount interest of every nation; for it is necessary to the existence of a naval power, which can alone afford adequate protection to our commerce and our sea-coast. The first President Adams, one of the most early and zealous friends of the American Navy, remarks in one of his communications to Congress, that it was a commercial marine which had drawn to Europe the superfluous wealth of the other three quarters of the globe, and the superfluous wealth of Europe itself to two or three nations. His maxim was, that a commercial and a military marine must grow up together, and that one could not long exist without the other. This doctrine we believe to be true; notwithstanding the opposite opinion lately advanced in the Edinburgh Review, that commercial shipping is not at all essential to the existence and support of a powerful navy, and that England might be as formidable by sea as at present, or even much more so, without possessing a single merchant ship. We do not suppose that this theory is likely to gain many proselytes on either side of the Atlantic. England will never gratify her enemies or endanger her own security by an experiment to solve the question, whether the empire of the seas can be maintained without a commercial marine. In our own country, we trust, that whoever may be called to administer our public affairs, our commercial shipping will be cherished, not only as a most important branch of national industry and source of wealth, but as indispensably necessary to the existence and support of a navy, the right arm of our national defence, without which we can neither be secure at home nor assert our rights on the ocean.

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Great Britain has realized in part at least, the splendid vision described by Bolingbroke in his idea of a Patriot King; 'of a people busy to improve their private property and the public stock, whose fleets cover the ocean, bringing wealth by the returns of industry, carrying assistance or terror abroad by the direction of wisdom, and asserting triumphantly the rights and the honor of Great Britain, as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them.' The state of her shipping and commerce is a subject of peculiar interest to us, as American citizens, not only on account of Great Britain having been, ever since the decline of Holland, the first maritime power in the world, but because she is the nation with which our commercial intercourse is far more extensive than with any other, comprising about one third of our foreign trade and employing one third of our shipping. She is the only nation whose commercial marine is superior to ours, our only rival on the ocean, and the only power with which we can probably have any serious controversy. And though we may ardently wish that the two nations should, and have strong hopes that they will, pursue a friendly policy towards each other, and that their only rivalry will be in the arts of peace, it would be unwise to shut our eyes to the danger of a different state of things.

We propose to examine the condition of the shipping of England in the sixteenth century, and to trace its subsequent progress from that time to the present day.

In 1572, the merchant shipping of England was said to be one hundred and thirty-five vessels, some of them of five hundred tons.

The navy of Queen Elizabeth consisted of thirteen public ships of war; the rest were borrowed from her subjects.

In 1588, the number of merchant ships was one hundred and fifty; on an average, of one hundred and fifty tons each. The navy of the Queen, which encountered the Spanish *armada*, contained about forty public ships, and the rest were borrowed for the occasion from her subjects, in all the maritime towns which possessed any shipping.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, presented to King James an essay in manuscript, entitled, 'Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England with the Dutch and other Foreign Nations.' Its object was to show how England suffered the Dutch to carry away the trade of the world. Among other things he says, that 'the Dutch, by the structure

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or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandise, though sailing with fewer hands than our ships, thereby carry their goods much cheaper to and from foreign ports than we can, whereby they gain all the foreign freights, while our ships lie still and decay, or go to Newcastle for coals.'

He speaks of the prodigious fishery of the Dutch, from which they get such vast returns yearly.

He says, 'that the Dutch and other petty States engross the transportation of the merchandise of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West Indies; all which they carry to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other northern ports, and bring back the products of those northern regions into the southern countries.'

'That the Dutch have a continual trade to this kingdom, with five or six hundred ships yearly, with merchandise of other countries, storing them up here till the price rise to their minds, and we trade not with fifty ships into their country in a year.'

He next mentions the great fishery of the Low Countries and other petty States, 'wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom.' He estimates the value of the exports of this article, at £1,759,000 sterling, besides what were sent to the Straits.

He supposes that the Hollanders alone had about three thousand ships and fifty thousand men employed in the fisheries.

That the Dutch had five or six hundred ships in the timber trade, chiefly in the Baltic, and supplied themselves, England, and other parts of Europe, with this commodity.

That while England sends to the East countries of Europe but one hundred ships annually, the Low Countries send three thousand, and about two thousand ships yearly to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

'That the Low countries have as many ships and vessels, as eleven kingdoms of Christendom have, let England be one, and that they build every year one thousand ships.'

This effort of the brave and unfortunate Raleigh, the first man of his age both as a statesman and warrior, to turn the eyes of James to the true interest of England, seems to have had no influence on the conduct of that weak and capricious monarch.

In 1651, Parliament passed the celebrated Navigation Act, for the advancement of the shipping, navigation, colonies and

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plantations of England. They had observed with much concern, that the English merchants had usually freighted Dutch shipping for bringing home their own merchandise, because Dutch freights were lower than English. Dutch shipping was used for importing American products to England, while English ships were rotting in their harbors, and English mariners, for want of employment, went into the service of the Dutch.

Had the Parliament been governed by such maxims as are now taught by some of the political economists of England, they would have said, that it is better for the government to let things alone; that trade will regulate itself; that if English merchants in transporting their merchandise, gave preference to Dutch shipping, and English mariners there sought employment, it was plainly because it was the interest of the merchant and mariner to do so; that what is for the benefit of the individual, is for the good of the nation; and, therefore, that it was better for England that her merchants should transport their commodities, and her mariners seek employment in Dutch ships. No proposition in Euclid can be more clearly demonstrated than this, if the doctrines of some eminent political economists in Great Britain be admitted as correct.

By this act, no goods of any kind of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, could be imported into England, Ireland, or any of the plantations, except in British ships.

No goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country in Europe, could be imported into England or Ireland, except in English ships, or ships of the country where the goods were produced, or from which they could only be, or were most usually imported.

Goods of the growth of Russia, and also bulky articles, such as masts, timber or boards, foreign salt, hemp, flax, and a large number of articles called enumerated commodities, could be imported only in English ships, or in ships of the country of which they were the growth or produce, and these enumerated commodities could not be imported from Holland, the Netherlands, or Germany, in any ships, English or foreign, under any circumstances. Thus the Dutch, the great carriers for all Europe, were not only cut off from the carrying trade between England and the rest of Europe, but from almost all trade with England whatsoever.

Foreigners were excluded from the coasting trade of England

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by direct prohibition, and from carrying thither the produce of any of the fisheries, by prohibitory duties.

This act was undoubtedly aimed against the commerce and naval power of the Dutch; this was probably the principal motive both with the republican parliament, by whom the act was first passed, and the parliament under Charles II. by whom it was re-enacted. The general object was to create a great commercial marine, and to prevent any other nation from obtaining any considerable portion of the carrying trade for England.

The extraordinary severity of the act, with regard to Holland, seems to have been intended to exclude the Dutch, so far as England could do it, from the commercial world. It was with a view to prevent any evasion of it by the Dutch, that the same prohibition was extended to the Netherlands and Germany. Foreigners were entirely excluded from any direct trade or correspondence with the British Colonies in America. Were it not for this, says Sir Josiah Child, we should see forty Dutch ships at our plantations for one English.

The navigation act has been highly extolled as the great foundation of the shipping, commerce, and naval power of Great Britain. Sir Josiah Child calls it the *Charta Maritima* of England, and asserts, that without it the English would not (in 1668) have owned one half the shipping or trade, nor have employed one half the number of seamen, which they did at that time.

Adam Smith says, that though some of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from animosity, they are as wise as if they had all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom; not because they were favorable to commerce, but on account of their effect in diminishing the naval power of the Dutch, and increasing that of the English. Some writers were of a different opinion, and condemned the act; on the ground that instead of increasing English shipping and seamen, it had a tendency to diminish both. But until within a few years, most of the political writers of England, and all her statesmen, supported the measure as essential to the commercial and naval ascendency of Great Britain. For nearly a century and a half, no minister would have ventured to propose any material change in it. So long as other nations acquiesced in it, and suffered Great Britain gradually to monopolize a great part of the commerce of the world, the act of navigation was almost

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idolized. After the United States became independent, one of the first acts under the new constitution, was a navigation law for the encouragement of American shipping. This measure induced the British government to suspend the operation of their law with regard to the United States, in order to avoid losing the trade of this country. In 1815, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British dominions in Europe, was placed on a footing of reciprocity.

The nations on the Continent now began to think of encouraging their own shipping; and Great Britain was compelled to relax the regulations of this darling act, or lose, in a great measure, the trade of Continental Europe. We think, that if other nations had not opened their eyes to their own interest, and adopted measures to protect their shipping, and in retaliation of the act of navigation, Great Britain would not have discovered that it was a measure unwise as respected herself, and illiberal with regard to foreign nations. The retaliatory measures of Prussia produced this discovery; and Great Britain, in 1823, adopted the system of reciprocity, and concluded treaties on this basis with Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and those States of Germany, which have any maritime commerce.

The benefits of this act may have been overrated by some of its zealous admirers; but we can see no reason to doubt, that it had a great influence in promoting the navigation and trade of England, in strengthening her naval power, and giving her eventually the dominion of the seas. The repeal or modification of it became necessary when other nations began to perceive its injurious operation on themselves, and to adopt similar measures with respect to England, for the protection of their own navigation.

In 1701, the shipping of England consisted of two hundred and sixty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two tons; the number of seamen was twenty-seven thousand one hundred and ninety-six. This appears from the circular letter of the commissioner of the customs. The shipping of London was then eighty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-two tons.

In 1753, British tonnage was estimated at three hundred and twenty thousand tons, which was probably below the real amount.

From the year 1760, the tonnage of Great Britain has been

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ascertained by the Registry with considerable accuracy. We subjoin the tonnage at different periods.

In 1760,	486,740	In 1789,	1,390,823
1770,	682,811	1792,	1,540,149
1775,	697,304	1795,	1,574,451
1780,	618,853	1798,	1,666,481
1783,	669,802	1800,	1,855,879
1786,	932,018		

The most rapid increase was from the termination of the American war, in 1783, to the war of the French Revolution. In six years, from 1783 to 1789, Great Britain more than doubled her shipping. In nine years, the increase was about 130 per cent. Never, in any period of her history, did she enjoy greater prosperity, or make more rapid advances in the arts of peace, than during the ten years after the American war.

The loss of her American Colonies, an event after which, in the opinion of Lord Chatham, the British crown would no longer be worth wearing, seemed, on the contrary, to augment the wealth and power of the empire.

The different result which followed the peace of 1815, after a war in which the triumphs of the British arms were without a parallel in her history, and which terminated in the humiliation of her great rival, and the enlargement of her own empire in each of the four quarters of the globe, affords a very curious and interesting subject of speculation.

Victory seems to have produced the consequences to be expected from defeat. Fifteen years of peace with all the world, instead of affording Great Britain any relief, seem only to have added to the suffering and discontent of her people, and to have brought her at length to the verge of a revolution, to prevent which was the great object of the war.

In considering the present amount of British shipping and commerce, and in comparing it with our own, it is necessary to attend to some circumstances, which, though they may seem obvious enough, have been strangely neglected or misunderstood by some men, both in Congress and out of it, who have undertaken to diffuse correct information, and to enlighten their fellow citizens on these subjects.

The actual tonnage and the tonnage-entries of vessels entering and departing, called the inward and outward tonnage, are

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often confounded. Thus, the actual tonnage of the British empire in 1818, was two million four hundred and sixty thousand five hundred tons; and in 1829, two million five hundred and eight thousand one hundred and ninety-one tons. As to this, there can be no mistake, as all the shipping is registered, and the registry carefully corrected yearly. This includes the tonnage employed both in the foreign and coasting trade in the British dominions in Europe, and the colonies and plantations in America.

The shipping owned by English subjects residing in India, and which is prohibited by law from going west of the Cape of Good Hope, is not included in the statement of the tonnage of the empire. The shipping of the East India Company is included, and forms a part of the tonnage of the port of London.

In 1800, the company's shipping amounted to one hundred and twenty-two ships, carrying one hundred and four thousand tons.

The shipping owned by individual British subjects trading to India, is, of course, also included.

The tonnage entries include the repeated voyages of every vessel, and therefore are no evidence of the amount of the actual tonnage.

In the foreign trade with France across the channel, where, as Mr. Huskisson says, many vessels come with one tide and return with the next, if a vessel of one hundred tons perform fifty voyages in a year from Dover to Calais and back, she would add five thousand tons to the inward and five thousand to the outward tonnage.

In the coasting trade, if a vessel of one hundred tons make twenty voyages between any two ports in England in a year, she adds two thousand tons to the inward tonnage of each port, and four thousand to the tonnage of the empire. In almost all the statements of British tonnage, both in the coasting and foreign trade, is intended not the actual tonnage, but the tonnage of vessels entering or departing, during the year, including their repeated voyages.

It might have been deemed unnecessary to make this explanation, had not a want of attention to these circumstances been the occasion of great errors and misrepresentations in this country.

Thus, in the speech now before us, the late Mr. Huskis-

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son says, that the British coasting trade amounted to 8,368,000 tons; a statement which probably led our Committee of Commerce to suppose this to be the *actual* tonnage in the coasting trade, instead of the tonnage entries in that trade for the year;—an amount of shipping more than three times greater than that of all the British empire, and probably more than all the shipping of Europe and America together.

Another circumstance to be attended to is the meaning of foreign trade, as used in statements of British commerce and navigation. In this country by foreign trade we mean a trade with foreign nations, or with the dominions of some foreign power. In England the meaning is much more comprehensive. Foreign trade includes not only the trade with foreign nations, but with their own possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, and even in Europe, as with Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, Isle of Man, and Gibraltar. The trade to Ireland was foreign till 1823. When the British statements of their tonnage in foreign trade include Ireland, about two thirds of this tonnage are in the trade with their own dominions, and one third with foreign nations. When Ireland is omitted, about one half is with foreign nations, and the rest is with their own possessions in different parts of the globe, chiefly with the North American Colonies, and the East and West Indies.

One cause, which often produces erroneous ideas of the extent of British commerce, is the practice which is still retained of giving the official value of their imports and exports from the valuation of each article, made in 1697, when the office of Inspector-General was established. This subject has been explained in a late number of this Journal,* and we shall merely show the operation of this official value in one or two commodities in swelling the amount of British commerce.

Coffee is a considerable item in British trade. In the official value it is rated at fifteen pence sterling per pound. The quantity of coffee imported in 1829, is stated at 39,000,000 pounds, the official value of which is £2,502,000, or about $12,000,000. This is three or four times its real value. The export was about 23,500,000 pounds, valued at £1,485,000, or about $7,000,000.

The United States imported in the same year 51,000,000

* No. LXVI. page 192.

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pounds, valued at $4,588,000, and exported about 18,000,000 pounds, valued at $1,536,000.

Cotton goods are estimated in the official value of exports in 1829, at about £34,000,000 sterling. The real value is about one half of that sum.

The whole amount of the exports of British produce and manufactures for the last year, according to the real and declared value, is stated at £35,212,000. The official value is about £20,000,000 more. The average of the real value for the last eight years, ending in 1830, is about £5,000,000 sterling a year less than that of the eight preceding years.

The following statement, we think, will be found to present an accurate view of the amount of British shipping, in different parts of the empire.

The actual tonnage of all the shipping in the British empire, both in the foreign and coasting trade, on the first day of January, 1828, was, by the British official statement, as follows;

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland . .	19,032	2,150,505	130,494
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	489	30,533	3,701
British plantations, including British West Indies and possessions in North America . .	3,625	279,362	17,220
Total tonnage of British empire	23,199	2,460,500	151,415

In 1829, the amount of British shipping was as follows;

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Great Britain and Ireland .	19,151	2,151,373	131,306
Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	495	31,927	3,763
British plantations, including foreign possessions . .	4,449	324,801	20,507
	24,095	2,508,191	155,576

The accuracy of the foregoing statements is the more to be relied on, as in 1827, the registry of the shipping was corrected, by requiring all vessels to be registered anew within a limited period, and many vessels supposed to be in existence, were found to be no longer so.

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The average tonnage of each vessel in both foreign and coasting trade, is about one hundred and six tons, and about sixteen tons to one man.

The number of ships in 1826, above one hundred tons, was eight thousand seven hundred and fifteen, carrying one million nine hundred and six thousand eight hundred and eighty-six tons.

Let us now look at the amount of American tonnage;

	Tons.
The whole tonnage of the United States, on the last day of December, 1828, was	1,741,391
Registered tonnage	812,619
Enrolled and licensed tonnage	928,772

Of the registered tonnage, fifty-four thousand, six hundred and twenty-one tons were employed in the whale fishery.

	Tons.
The enrolled tonnage in the coasting trade amounted to	787,224
Licensed vessels under twenty tons	55,680
The enrolled and licensed vessels in the fisheries, chiefly in the cod and mackerel fishery	85,867
Total,	928,771

Thus the shipping of the British empire is about two million five hundred thousand, and that of the United States upwards of one million seven hundred thousand, or somewhat more than two thirds the amount of the British shipping.

In our view of the trade between the United States and Great Britain, and the shipping employed to carry it on, we include our commercial intercourse with the whole of the British dominions. We take the year 1829, it being the last of which we have seen the official statement.

The exports from the United States to the dominions of Great Britain, in 1829, were		$28,071,000
Imports		27,582,000
Exports in American vessels .	$20,826,000	
" in British . . .	7,245,000	
Total		$28,071,000

Exports in British vessels about twenty-six per cent.

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Let us now look at the import trade for the same year.

Imports from dominions of Great Britain to the United States in 1829, in American vessels . .	$24,466,000
In British	3,116,000
	$27,582,000

Imports in British vessels about thirteen per cent.

We come now to the shipping employed in this trade.

Amount of tonnage which entered the ports of the United States from the dominions of Great Britain in 1829,

American tonnage	307,996
British	86,377
Total	394,373

British tonnage about twenty-two per cent.

Export tonnage in 1829,

American	298,278
British	87,774
Total	386,052

British tonnage twenty-three per cent. nearly.

Thus it appears, that Great Britain has between one fourth and one fifth of the tonnage in her trade with the United States. The average for ten years past we believe to be not more than one fifth, including all the dominions of Great Britain.

The Convention between the United States and Great Britain, by which the equalization of the duties on tonnage and imports was extended to the vessels of both nations, so far as relates to the intercourse between the United States and the British dominions in Europe, was ratified in 1815, and has been in force ever since. The intercourse between the British European dominions and the United States, was now placed on the footing of equality. The competition was a fair one, and the nation whose ships could carry cheapest, would of course obtain the largest portion of the trade. We will state the tonnage in the trade with the British dominions in Europe, in 1816, the first year after the reciprocity treaty was in operation.

American tonnage	134,198
British	100,840

Or about forty-three per cent. of the whole.

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In the trade between the United States and the whole of the British dominions, in 1816 ;

American tonnage	236,326
British	212,789
	449,115

British tonnage about forty-seven per cent.

In the trade between the United States and the British dominions in Europe in 1829, the shipping of each nation was as follows ;

Import Tonnage.

American	183,313
British	76,951
	260,264

Or about 29 6-10 per cent.

Export Tonnage.

American	198,066
British	70,921
	268,987

Or about 26½ per cent.

The average of British shipping in the trade between the United States and the British dominions in Europe for ten years past, we believe has not exceeded twenty-five per cent. of the whole.

In the year 1827, the ship-owners of London, and several other ports in Great Britain, being reduced, as they alleged, to great distress, presented their petitions to Parliament for relief. They ascribed the depressed condition of the British shipping interest to the changes in the system of navigation laws, introduced by Mr. Huskisson, and denounced these changes as giving to foreigners advantages which were driving British ships from the ocean. They stated, that foreign shipping in the trade with Great Britain was increasing, and must necessarily continue to increase, as the British ship-owner could neither build, nor navigate his vessels so cheap as foreigners, nor consequently carry freight at so low a rate ; and that the same prices for freights, which would produce nothing but loss to the British ship-owners, would yield to foreigners a moderate profit.

Gen. Gascoigne, the member from Liverpool, and colleague of Mr. Huskisson, moved that a select committee be appointed

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to inquire into the present depressed state of the commercial shipping, and report thereon to the House. In his speech in support of the petitions, the General made certain statements, founded on documents furnished by the ship-owners, of the comparative prices of ship-building in England and foreign countries.

The prices stated were the following.

In London,	per ton.	£ 28	
England on the average,	do.	18	
Prussia,	do.	8	8*s.*
France,	do.	11	
Sweden,	do.	6	15*s.*
Holland,	do.	10	
Denmark,	do.	9	10*s.*
Russia,	do.	4	15*s.*

He stated, that seamen's wages were only half as much in these countries as in England; and that a Prussian vessel might be navigated four voyages, for about £389, while an English vessel of the same tonnage and with the same number of men, would cost not less than £664. That it was plain, therefore, that foreign ships could carry freights at a much lower rate than the English, and would of course have the preference, wherever they were permitted to be employed. That there had been a great depreciation in the value of British shipping. Ships in the port of Liverpool, which cost £14,000, were sold at £6,000; and of the new ships in the merchant service, nearly one third were built in Canada. These facts, and many others of a similar kind, tending to show the distress and decline of the British shipping interest, and the increase of foreign shipping in the trade with Great Britain, were stated by Gen. Gascoigne and Mr. Liddell, one of the members from Northumberland, and the petitioners, they said, were ready, if permitted, to prove their allegations by evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons.

To those who have observed with how much care the British Government have watched over the interest of their commercial shipping, and what jealousy they have displayed towards that of other nations, the reception which the petitioners met with from the House of Commons, must appear somewhat extraordinary. When the statements were made, which, if true, so deeply affected the interest of the ship-owners, and

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consequently an important interest of the empire, and evidence was offered to support those statements, the natural and obvious course would have been, to give the petitioners an opportunity of proving their assertions, by referring the petition to a Committee of the House of Commons. If the allegations of the petitioners were true, they were entitled to relief. If they failed in supporting them, the House might be justified in declining to interfere in their behalf. At any rate, it might be thought, they were entitled to an inquiry. But the House of Commons were of a different opinion. Mr. Huskisson and his friend deemed it a safer course to make a stand in the outset, and resist all inquiry, than to give the ship-owners an opportunity of supporting their petition by evidence before a Committee, and the General's motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Thompson declared the statements to be utterly erroneous, and said that nothing could be more extraordinary than the unblushing effrontery of the petitioners, who had supplied their advocates in the House of Commons with statements, which they must have known to be deceptive. Mr. Huskisson said, that the statements of the ship-owners were made in utter ignorance of the facts, or in positive defiance of them; and that they were founded on the supposition of an increase in foreign and decline in British shipping, whereas the very reverse was the case.

To charge a respectable body of men with ignorance, deception, and falsehood, on a subject with which it is supposed that they must be well acquainted, and at the same time to refuse them the opportunity, which they earnestly solicited, to prove the truth of their statements, does not seem to be altogether consistent with justice or decorum. Our object is not, however, to discuss the merits of the question as between the ship-owners and Mr. Huskisson, who, in vindication of himself, and in reply to the ship-owners, laid before the House several documents containing a great number of statements concerning the shipping and commerce of the British empire.

We do not find in the debate any denial of the principal causes of complaint, such as the fall in ships and freight, and the increase of foreign tonnage. But Mr. Huskisson said, that he had examined the subject in various ways; that in every way he looked at it, in whatever mode human ingenuity could be employed, the result would be, that British shipping would be

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seen to possess very considerable advantages over the foreign. These statements and documents, from such a quarter, must be interesting to all, who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the commerce and navigation of the British empire. They are more worthy of our attention as citizens of the United States, because, as we think, they are the basis of all those unfounded representations, which have been made in this country, of the great magnitude and increase of the British, and decline of American shipping and commerce. We think, especially, that they are the ground-work of most of those ludicrous and unparalleled errors and exaggerations, which are contained in Mr. Cambreleng's report at the session of Congress of the last year, in respect to the amount and increase of British tonnage; though it must be confessed, that he has drawn many inferences concerning British shipping, and added many mistakes, which are peculiarly his own, concerning American shipping, for which Mr. Huskisson is in no wise responsible. We do not mean to say that the statements of Mr. Huskisson are not true in a certain sense, or that there is any intentional misrepresentation; but they do not contain the whole truth; and the subject is presented in such parts and divisions, exhibited in such lights, and stated in such language, as almost necessarily to convey very erroneous impressions to those who do not carefully examine for themselves.

Thus Mr. Huskisson, to prove the increase of British shipping in foreign trade, says, that in the trade with all parts of the world, *strictly foreign*, out of Europe, the amount of *British tonnage* employed in 1814, was five hundred and thirty-five thousand tons. In 1826, it was eight hundred and seventy-eight thousand, being an increase of three eighths, while with the single exception of the United States, the foreign shipping in that trade was greater in any one of the six years preceding 1826, than it was in that year.

On examining the documents, we find that seven eighths of this tonnage in the strictly foreign trade of Mr. Huskisson, consist of the trade of the British dominions out of Europe.

The inward tonnage in this trade from all parts of the world out of Europe, is stated in the documents at nine hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and twelve tons.

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It includes the tonnage in the trade with Canada and Nova Scotia,	472,588 tons.
British West Indies,	243,448
British East Indies,	72,457
British possessions on the Western Coast of Africa, including the Cape of Good Hope,	32,044
Whale fisheries,	40,532
	860,005

From 975,612 tons
Deduct 860,005

115,607

So that of Mr. Huskisson's strictly foreign trade out of Europe, only one hundred and fifteen thousand six hundred and seven tons, are employed in the trade with foreign nations. The rest of the tonnage is in the trade with their own possessions, a trade under their control, and from which foreigners are entirely excluded. Nearly one half of it is employed in the trade with the Northern Colonies, chiefly in carrying lumber, and is of no more importance than our own coasting trade, in that commodity.

Mr. Huskisson says, that with the single exception of the United States, the foreign shipping in the trade out of Europe had diminished. The exception is a most important one. Take away the United States, and what nation out of Europe has any shipping worth notice, to carry on a foreign trade in competition with Great Britain? No one could suppose that the British trade with China, Mexico and the South American States, could be carried on otherwise than in British shipping.

Mr. Huskisson says, that the trade with the North American colonies had increased in a gigantic degree since the peace of 1815, from one hundred and fifty-one thousand to three hundred and ninety-seven thousand tons, export tonnage.

It is true that there has been a great increase of shipping in the colonies, but this is in a great measure the consequence of a preference given to the timber of the colonies, notwithstanding its inferior quality, to that of the North of Europe, by the imposition of heavy duties on the latter. This very system, which has produced a great increase in the trade and shipping of the colonies, is one of restriction, and is denounced in the Edinburgh Review, as a regulation, which costs the country an-

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nually about a million sterling, and the impolicy and absurdity of which cannot be exceeded, by any thing in the policy of old Spain. 'It is ridiculous for us,' says the Review, 'while the foreigner can lay his finger on such a table of duties as this, to boast of our liberal commercial policy.'

The increase, however, is not equal to the decline of British shipping in Europe.

The complaints of the ship-owners do not seem to have been fairly met by Mr. Huskisson. They complain that by a repeal of the navigation laws, and the abolition of discriminating duties on ships and goods in treaties with the United States, with Prussia and other northern powers of Europe, there had been an increase of foreign and decline of British shipping.

Before the repeal, Great Britain had about two thirds of the shipping in the trade with Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany, and after the repeal, less than one half. There had been a decline of British shipping in the trade with the United States. It is also true, that there had been a decline in the actual tonnage of the British empire since the peace; and the decline in the tonnage of the British dominions in Europe, according to the British official statements, amounted to about two hundred thousand tons.

Mr. Huskisson admits none of these facts, but by statements of tonnage entries, in which foreign and coasting trade are mingled together, and the trade with the British dominions considered as foreign trade, attempts to prove, that there had been an increase in the tonnage entries. But he gives no separate statement of the British and foreign tonnage in the trade with those countries with which the reciprocity treaties complained of, had been concluded. The tonnage in foreign trade is swelled to about three times the amount of the tonnage in the trade with foreign nations.

We by no means intend to assert, that the reciprocity act, as it is termed, or the reciprocity treaties, were on the whole injurious to the interests of Great Britain, or that Mr. Huskisson did not judge wisely with regard to the repeal of the navigation act.

As to the policy of these measures, there is a great diversity of opinion in England, and it is a question for that nation to determine. But it appears from the official statements of the British government, that since the repeal there has been an actual diminution of the tonnage of the empire, and the decline

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has been in the shipping of the British dominions in Europe, to which the operation of this policy has been chiefly confined, and that there has been a considerable increase of foreign tonnage.

But Great Britain has other interests besides those of navigation. The North of Europe is a great market for British manufactures; and rather than lose or diminish this vent for her goods, she chose to admit the vessels of the Northern powers into her ports on terms of reciprocity. She deemed it better that her manufactures should be carried thither in foreign vessels, than to run the risk of being, by prohibitory duties, excluded altogether.

The rapid increase of American shipping and commerce, from 1790 to 1810, may be ascribed not only to the enterprise of our merchants, and the activity and skill of our mariners, but in a considerable degree to the encouragement afforded by our navigation act and to the wars which grew out of the French revolution. During this period, the commerce of Continental Europe was in a great measure swept from the ocean, and Great Britain and the United States became the carriers for the commercial world. Our tonnage in twenty years rose from 450,000 to 1,400,000 tons.

In 1802, Great Britain having manifested a disposition to abolish the discriminating duties on tonnage and imports, with respect to American vessels, provided the United States would adopt a similar measure with regard to British vessels and their cargoes, the question was brought before Congress; a committee to whom the subject was referred were in favor of doing this, but in consequence of remonstrances from all our principal commercial towns against any change in our navigation laws, the project was abandoned. In 1815, the reciprocity convention now in force was concluded.

This measure was an experiment on our part. Serious doubts were entertained whether we could build and navigate ships at so cheap a rate as the English. The experiment has, we think, been a successful one.

Since it has been in operation, three fourths or more of the trade between the two countries has been carried on in American vessels.

In our commercial intercourse with all other nations, there can be no doubt, that the reciprocity system in respect to duties on vessels and merchandise, is very advantageous to the

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United States, as almost all the trade is carried on in American shipping. It is therefore highly desirable, that our vessels should be admitted into the ports of other nations on the same terms as their own.

So long as we continue the reciprocity system, we have no reason to expect that a greater proportion of our foreign trade will be carried on in American vessels than the average for fifteen years past. The proportion of American tonnage has varied from about seven eighths to nine tenths.

The average of the whole tonnage in our foreign trade for several years past, has been about one million tons. In 1829, the American tonnage entering our ports, was eight hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and forty-nine tons, and the outward tonnage nine hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine. The foreign tonnage entering the same year was one hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and forty-three, and the outward was one hundred and thirty-three thousand and six.

The average of the tonnage in the trade of Great Britain with foreign nations is about one million five hundred thousand tons, of which about three-fifths are British.

The British inward tonnage in this trade in 1826, was nine hundred and thirty-four thousand tons, and the foreign six hundred and forty-three thousand.

The outward tonnage was eight hundred and eighty-three thousand British, and six hundred and ninety-two thousand foreign.

In the whale fishery, the superior activity, enterprise and skill of American seamen, have been eminently conspicuous. The late war put a stop to this business, and occasioned great loss to those engaged in it. When peace came, our bold and hardy whalemen resumed their occupation. In 1828, the tonnage in the whale fishery did not probably exceed twenty thousand tons; as Nantucket and New Bedford, the places to which the business was chiefly confined, had but about seventeen thousand tons. Twenty-four whale ships were taken by the enemy during the war. Since that time, the fishery has been prosecuted with great success, and the tonnage engaged in it has increased to a surprising degree. In 1828, it was fifty-four thousand tons, and at present we believe the whole of our tonnage in the whale fishery to be not less than eighty thousand tons. The following statement is taken from a New Bedford paper, and we have been assured of its correctness.

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'The number of foreign clearances at the port of New-Bedford the last year, was one hundred and one, and of foreign entries eighty-three. Of the arrivals, fifty-eight were from whaling voyages, importing forty-one thousand one hundred and forty-four barrels of spermaceti oil, fifty-three thousand one hundred and forty-five barrels of whale oil, and three hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds of whalebone. There remained at sea, on whaling voyages, at the end of the year, one hundred ships, nine barques, and seven brigs, measuring thirty-five thousand two hundred and eight tons, and navigated by two thousand six hundred and thirty-five men. Of these vessels, fifty-six are in the Pacific Ocean, and the rest on the Brazil Banks, in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. The whole tonnage of the district is fifty-five thousand five hundred and eighty-eight tons.'

In 1828, the shipping of this port in the whale fishery was short of twenty-six thousand tons. If Nantucket and other ports from which it is carried on have increased in proportion, the whole tonnage will not fall short of our estimate.

The whole produce of this fishery for the year 1830, must, we think, exceed three millions of dollars.

The English have never been so successful in this branch of industry as the Dutch were formerly, or the people of New England have been for many years. About three fourths of the British whale ships are in the Greenland, and the rest in the South Sea fishery.

The decline in this branch of their navigation has been almost as rapid as its advance with us. The number of whale ships cleared from the ports of Great Britain in 1820 was two hundred and ten, making sixty-four thousand eight hundred tons, and in 1826 the number cleared was one hundred and twenty-eight, amounting to forty thousand five hundred tons. The tonnage entered had fallen off in ten years, ending in 1828, from sixty thousand to thirty-four thousand tons. On this subject, the eulogy of Burke on the people of New England, as surpassing all their competitors in this perilous industry, will occur to the reader.

We intended to go more fully into the subject of our commerce and shipping; but we have already exceeded the limits prescribed, and probably exhausted the patience of our readers. The result of our investigation is a full confidence that there are no well founded reasons for apprehending any decline of our shipping or commerce. From whatever point of view we look at these interests, we are convinced, that our merchants,

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ship-owners, and mariners, have reason to be of good cheer. If we look back for ten or twelve years, we find a steady increase in our shipping, as rapid as could be expected, or perhaps, as we ought to wish. The increase in our registered tonnage in that time has been about two hundred thousand tons; and taking into view the different mode of building ships, which has been common for a few years past, the real increase is considerably more. Our coasting tonnage has increased in a still greater degree. A much larger proportion of our foreign trade is carried on in our own ships, than is the case with any other nation.

There has indeed of late been some depression in the shipping interest; but we do not know that it has been greater than that which has affected other branches of industry; and from all the information obtained from England and the rest of Europe, we believe the depression has been much greater in that quarter than with us. For some time past, there has been an evident improvement in the prices of ships and freight, and the prospects of the shipping interest, as well as of other interests, have been gradually brightening. We see no reason why our foreign and carrying trade may not continue to flourish. We believe that other nations have, on the whole, no advantages over us either in building or navigating ships; but that in several important particulars, and especially in the skill and activity of our seamen, we have considerable advantages over them. This is abundantly evident wherever our countrymen can come in competition with foreigners on equal terms, as in the fisheries, in our foreign trade, and in the carrying trade, by which we supply the Continent of Europe with so great a portion of the commodities of the East and West Indies.

Our shipping is now relieved from the tonnage duties; and if any farther facilities can be granted, sound policy would seem to require them. In a time of general peace in Europe, we cannot indeed expect, that our navigation in foreign trade should go on increasing with so much rapidity as during the war of the French Revolution, when we were the only neutral nation having much shipping, and thus became in a great measure the carriers for the Continent of Europe.

As to our home trade, its importance becomes every day more apparent, and great as its increase has been in time past, its future progress will in all probability be still more rapid. When we consider the extent of our territory, the abundance

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and variety of its productions, the growth of our manufactures, the mutual wants and dependencies of the different parts of our Union, together with the facilities for water communication, and our population, increasing in a ratio without a parallel in the annals of nations; the imagination can hardly set any bounds to the extent of the future commercial intercourse between these States, or the amount of shipping of all kinds, that will be required on our sea-coast, rivers and lakes.

It has been remarked of the shipping interest, that it is the ally of all other interests in the community, and the enemy of none. It is a good customer to all other branches of industry, without being the rival of any. To agriculture, commerce and manufactures, it is a common friend and benefactor.

We have omitted till now, according to a liberty not uncommon with reviewers, any mention of Mr. Pope's work on the shipping and commerce of the British empire. Mr. Pope has comprised in this volume a great mass of information, that must be very valuable to those whose occupations are at all connected with maritime commerce. We know of no work that can supply its place; and the circumstance of its having reached the fourteenth edition in a few years, is a proof of its favorable reception among the merchants and ship-owners of Great Britain. On comparing it with a former edition, we find a considerable change for the better, both in the selection of materials and their arrangement, though we think there is still no small room for improvement in both these particulars.

ART. VII.—*The Art of Preserving Beauty.*

L'Art de conserver et d'augmenter la Beauté. Par L'AMI. 12mo. Paris. 1829.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague affirms in one of her letters, written at the latter part of her life, that she had not cast her eyes upon a looking-glass for twelve years; a striking proof how disagreeable it was to her, to be reminded of the changes which time had wrought in her outward appearance. With all her wit, talent, and strong good sense, she took the matter so much to heart, that it appears to have poisoned the sources of her happiness, and was probably the real cause that induced her to leave England, where she might have lived at peace in the bosom of her family, and drag out a wretched existence,

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abandoned to *ennui* and novel-reading, in one of the deserted cities of Italy. The loss of her beauty reduced her, in short, to the same condition, to which the possession of it, in connexion with her insensibility to his suit, had, at a preceding period of her life, reduced one of her early admirers, the celebrated bard of Twickenham, and which is feelingly described in the following lines, addressed by him, at the height of his passion, to his friend Gay, but afterwards suppressed, when the fair subject of them had become obnoxious to his hatred, and, under the name of Sappho, the object of his gross abuse.

> 'Tis true, my friend, this truth we lovers know,
> In vain my walls arise, my arbors grow,
> In vain fair Thames reflects the double scenes
> Of hanging gardens and of sloping greens;
> Joy dwells not here—to other seats he flies,
> And only dwells where Wortley casts her eyes.
> What are the gay parterre—the chequered shade,
> The morning bower, the evening colonnade,
> But soft recesses for the unhappy mind
> To sigh unheard in to the passing wind?
> So the struck deer in some sequestered part
> Lies down to die—the arrow in his heart—
> There, placed unseen in coverts hid from day,
> Bleeds drop by drop, and pants his life away.'

We have mentioned the example of Lady Mary, as a strong illustration of the extent to which the loss of beauty will sometimes affect the most powerful understanding. For this evil, there is obviously no complete remedy. Nothing can arrest the progress of time, or prevent it from ploughing the smooth cheek with wrinkles, bleaching the dark and glossy hair, quenching the radiant eye in rheums of age, and spoiling the graceful proportions of the slender figure. All this, we say, is in the long run, irremediable. But something may be done in the way of palliation, towards putting off the evil day; and it is the charitable object of the little work before us, to lend such aid as may be given for this purpose. We must, however, express our opinion, that the merit of the execution does not fully correspond with the goodness of the intention. The work is, in fact, little more than a sort of advertising sheet, bound up in the shape of a duodecimo volume, and setting forth the pretended virtues of a variety of cosmetics. Each limb and feature of the human body is separately considered, and the art of pre-

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serving its beauty is made to consist in the use of some wash, nostrum, or perhaps piece of machinery, intended to remove defects or add graces. All these specifics are decorated with the most pompous names; and if they are as efficacious as they are represented to be, the only wonder is, that every ball-room does not contain an assembly of Venuses de' Medici. Our readers may, perhaps, be amused by an account of some of these extraordinary preparations.

To instance those which are to be employed upon the hair; we are told by our author that a multitude of drugs, each more pernicious than the last preceding, have been invented by ignorance and charlatanism, for the purpose of coloring the hair, but that they have all failed completely in their object, and have had no other operation, but to make the hair fall off, and to dry up the skin. Fortunately, he has at length discovered the secret of a composition, called the *Ebony Paste*, which succeeds perfectly well with all who employ it—may be used without the aid of a hair-dresser—communicates to the hair the most beautiful tints—white, brown or black, according to the length of time during which it is kept on; and all this without scorching the skin or weakening the roots of the hair, which it, on the contrary, fortifies and fixes in their places.

It is obvious, then, that if any lady or gentleman do not possess a head of hair of the color and constitution that suit his or her fancy best, it is their own fault, and not that of the Ebony Paste. Beside this wonderful composition, we are also offered a variety of others, with virtues subsidiary to the same general purpose; such as the *African Water*, which gives the hair a curl more graceful and permanent than any natural one; and which is accordingly used, as we are told, by many ladies whose hair curls naturally. Then we have the *Oil of Shine*, to render the hair brilliant and glossy; and to keep it neat and clean, the *Brush of Cleanliness*, the *Convenient Disentanglers*, together with our old and really useful acquaintance, the *Fine-toothed Comb*. For removing superfluous hairs, we have the *Macedonian Hair-thinning Paste;* for making them grow where they are deficient, on young heads, the *Oil of Growth;* and on bald ones, the *Fructifying Preparation;* which, however, by way of exception, we are told, does not always succeed; for preventing them from turning white, we have the *Conservative Oil;* and for stopping their fall after a fit of illness, the *Oil of Hercules*.

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The necessities of the eyes are equally well supplied. If they are in a sound state, we are to keep them so by making use of the *Conservative Fluid;* if weak, we are to strengthen them by the *Fortifying Water;* if inflamed, we are to cool them with the *Water of Refreshment;* if their sight be not clear, we must make it so by the application of the *Clarifying Water.* If their lids are diseased, we must soothe them with the *Beneficent Water*, and cleanse them with the *Essence of Purity.* Finally, if they are surrounded by a dark circle, we have only to employ the *Cream of Freshness*, which first disguises, and after a while removes this envious cloud, which occasionally throws such an ominous gloom over the face of beauty.

It is worthy of remark—*en passant*—that notwithstanding his evident fondness for the use of *waters*, our author expresses himself in no very favorable terms in regard to the most widely, and in our poor opinion (if we might venture to put it in contradiction with so great an authority) the most justly celebrated of the class,—the well known *Eau de Cologne.* 'The water of Cologne,' says he, 'so much boasted,—so much puffed,—so much used,—is nothing but spirits of wine distilled over aromatic plants. The plants in themselves may be good, although there are others infinitely better than those which are employed in fabricating this liquid; but the spirits of wine destroy the texture of the skin, and should by all means be carefully avoided.'

Such of our readers as have had opportunity of testing the genuine *Farina*, (and few there are, we trust, who have not) will appreciate for themselves the correctness of this censure. We attribute it entirely to the *jalousie de métier.* We have no doubt that Monsieur L'Ami would tell us a very different story about Cologne Water, if he were the proprietor of the patent; and that he decries it simply, or principally, because he considers it the most formidable competitor with the multifarious preparations which he himself owns, or is hired to recommend to the public.

We find, in fact, at the close of the work, a reference to the perfumer's shop of a certain M. Antoine—*Rue Filles Saint Thomas*—where all these miraculous substances are to be sold, and of which the keeper,—as we strongly suspect,—is no other than our friend L'Ami, under a new name. At all events, his establishment is here made the subject of an encomium, which is worth quoting, as a good specimen of the regular and

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determined puff,—rarely used in this country excepting by, or for the benefit of, political charlatans. It includes another sarcastic hit at Cologne Water.

'This useful establishment,' says our author, 'which has just been formed at Paris, was wanting in France and throughout Europe. Hardly was it known to exist, when customers crowded into it from every country.

'M. Antoine, the director, has succeeded in procuring from all quarters, receipts for substances that have been tried, and found to be infallible in beautifying and strengthening the various parts of the human body. They can only be found in his warehouse.

'These receipts are not to be confounded with the innumerable multitude of pretended cosmetics—oils, vinegars, creams, pomatums and powders for the skin, eyes, hair and teeth, with which the public credulity is constantly imposed upon, and which are announced by their venders with all the emphasis of charlatanism, as possessing each and all the most various, and generally, the most inconsistent virtues.

'Every substance in nature,—every preparation of art is endowed with its own peculiar powers. There is none, that will at the same time dye white and red,—consolidate and relax,—refresh and inflame. Common sense should teach us to distrust these pretended universal cosmetics, which, *like the ridiculous Cologne Water*, are announced as useful in all imaginable cases.

'The preparations sold by M. Antoine produce respectively some one appropriate effect; or if more than one, such as are of the same general character. He warrants them to be entirely free from mineral or acid ingredients, and to be composed of vegetable substances, foreign and domestic, of which the use can, under no circumstances, be attended with danger.

'Any person, therefore, who may have occasion for an infallible specific, to be employed for almost any purpose, has only to address himself to M. Antoine, and it will be extraordinary, if he do not find what he wants.'

With a good deal more to the same purpose. The intelligent reader will have seen pretty clearly by this time the character of the little work before us; and will probably agree with us, that it would be superfluous to enlarge any further upon its contents. We shall, however, add a few remarks of our own upon the same general subject.

To proceed methodically, we shall first inquire what beauty is; and then, how it may be preserved. It is generally admitted, that whatever pleases the eye, is called beautiful. But why does one thing please the eye more than another? This

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may appear at first a simple question; but the learned, who are apt enough to make difficulties when they do not find them, have been much divided about it, and have not yet decided it to their own satisfaction. The more prevalent opinion among them at the present day seems to be, that the principle of beauty is intelligence, and that objects are more pleasing to the eye, in proportion as they are more or less expressive of mind. Thus Akenside, in his Pleasures of Imagination, not only lays down this theory, but takes a solemn oath to its truth.

> 'Mind—mind alone—bear witness, Earth and Heaven!
> The proper fountains in itself contains
> Of beauteous and sublime.'

Alison, in his Essay on Taste, and Jeffrey in his article on Beauty, in the Supplement to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, maintain the same opinion. For ourselves, with all proper deference for these and the other great authorities that agree with them, we must confess, that we entertain doubts of its correctness. We are even inclined to question, whether, if the witnesses summoned by Akenside were actually to come into court, their evidence would bear him out in his opinions. Many of the aspects of heaven and earth are eminently beautiful. The gorgeous glories of a brilliant sunset, and the milder radiance of a clear moonlight night; the green, flower-wrought mantle of spring, and the ermine robe of winter, are delightful, each in its own way; but it does not appear, that we see them with pleasure because they are expressive of mind. Their effect upon us is rather the result of the natural harmony between our own constitution and the general system of the world about us. And if we come to animated nature, we are far from finding, that personal beauty corresponds exactly with the developement of *mind*. Madame de Staël, for example, was considered the most intelligent woman of her day, and by many, the greatest female writer that ever lived. But was she, therefore, regarded as particularly beautiful? Quite the contrary. We are all aware, that she made no pretensions on this head. While the palm of wit was universally conceded to her by the competent judges in France, that of beauty was adjudged, with equal unanimity, to her friend, Madame Recamier, a lady in no way distinguished for talent. Miss Edgeworth, again, since the eclipse of her great French competitor, may be looked upon as among transatlantic female wits the lady of the

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ascendant; we say it without disparagement to Mrs. Hemans, Miss Jewsbury, and others, who all have their merits, but are not, in our opinion, to be named on the same day with her. But what is her personal appearance? We are told by Lord Byron, that, although on the whole a 'well-looking' person, she is far from being decidedly beautiful. To come to the circles with which we are familiar:—Felicia is considered the prettiest woman in Boston; but does she possess the intellect of our New-England Edgeworth? Angelina looks like a fine Italian picture; but can she talk like a book, as Belinda does? We know the contrary. Of all the beauties of ancient or modern times, Helen is probably by far the most celebrated. A learned Spanish bishop, in a formal eulogium, which he passes upon this *Pest of Troy*, as Virgil rather unceremoniously calls her, declares that she possessed in perfection the thirty points that go to make up a really handsome woman; but it does not appear, that he reckoned intelligence or mind among the number.* It is evident, indeed, from her history, that discretion was not one of her shining qualities. If we pass from living beauties to their images in works of art, we shall arrive at the same conclusion. The Venus de' Medici is allowed to be the type of perfection for the female form; but all who have had the advantage of seeing this charming statue, agree, that the expression of the face is far from being particularly intellectual. Kotzebue affirms, that it is directly the reverse. Lady Mary Wortley Montague was an example of the union of great beauty with uncommon wit and talent; but this was merely an accidental coincidence. Her wit did not make her beautiful, any more than her beauty made her intelligent; but she happened to combine in her single person two qualities in themselves entirely distinct, and which are not very often found together. When they are, each, no doubt,

* Nació esta tan aventajada y enrequecida de hermosura que fue un portento, un prodigio y milagro de naturaleza, quedando desde aquel tiempo à este y aun para muchos siglos en proverbio su belleza y gallardia; de tal suerte que quando queremos ponderar y encarecer la hermosura de una mujer decimos que es una Helena; y en tal lugar la pone el Niverniense, Natal Comite, Bartolomeo Casaneo, Juan Nevizano; el que pone las treinta cosas que se requieren para que una mujer sea perfectissima en su hermosura, y dice que las tenia todas sin faltar ninguna la hermosa Helena. *Balth. de Victoria. Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidad*, II. 19.

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increases the effect of the other. Wit and worth appear to more advantage under a handsome outside.

'Pulchrior in pulchro corpore virtus.'

On the other hand, beauty is animated, and, as it were, inspired by the sparkling emanations of mind. But the two effects depend in their origin upon entirely different principles.

A more plausible argument might be sustained in support of the theory, that beauty is a mere expression of amiable moral qualities. There is something so agreeable in a smiling, good-humored physiognomy, that when we are looking at one, we are almost tempted to pronounce it handsome. But a moment's reflection is enough to satisfy us, that this would be a great mistake. A morose expression may deform beauty, and an amiable one is an excellent substitute for it, but is still not the thing itself. This matter is placed in a proper light by Addison, in a passage of his Cato. Juba, a young Numidian prince, is in love with a daughter of Cato; and Syphax, one of his counsellors, is endeavoring to reason him out of his passion (a strange project for a man of so much experience,) by representing to him, that the swarthy damsels of Numidia are possessed of a higher style of beauty. Juba replies in the following terms;

'Tis not a set of features or complexion,
The tincture of the skin, that I admire;
Beauty soon grows familiar to the lover,
Fades in his eyes, and palls upon his sense.'

It is here distinctly admitted, that beauty consists in the possession of some peculiar personal qualities; a set of features, a complexion, a tincture of the skin; but it is added, that all this is insufficient to secure and retain the affections, without the addition of intellectual accomplishments and moral graces, which the young African prince proceeds, with the enthusiasm of a true lover, to ascribe to his mistress, in the highest degree of perfection.

'The virtuous Marcia towers above her sex;
True, she is fair—oh, how divinely fair!
But still the lovely maid improves her charms
With inward greatness, unaffected wisdom,
And sanctity of manners. Cato's soul
Shines out in every thing she acts or speaks.

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> While winning mildness and attractive smiles
> Dwell in her looks, and with becoming grace
> Soften the rigor of her father's virtues.'

All this agrees perfectly with our views. Marcia is described as divinely fair, not because she unites all the wisdom of Cato with the winning mildness and attractive smiles peculiar to herself, (a remarkable combination, by the bye, in a young girl of eighteen or twenty, which was probably her age,) but for another reason, which has already been intimated; the character of her features and complexion. It is this which makes her beautiful; her high intellectual and moral qualities only improve her charms, and heighten their effect upon her enraptured admirer.

Burke supposes that the cause of all positive pleasure is a relaxation of the system somewhat below the natural tone, and that the sight of beauty gives us pleasure, because it has the effect of producing such a relaxation. In confirmation of this idea, he gives a description of the manner in which we are affected by it. We must fairly confess, that this theory appears to us to be too metaphysical; but we quote the passage, that our readers may have the opportunity of comparing their own *experiences* under the circumstances in question, with those of this celebrated person. 'The head reclines something on one side; the eye-lids are more closed than usual, and the eyes roll gently with an inclination towards the object; the mouth is a little opened, and the breath drawn slowly, with now and then a sigh; the whole body is composed, and the hands fall idly to the sides. All this is accompanied with an inward sense of languor. These appearances are always proportioned to the degree of beauty in the object, and of sensibility in the observer.'

The plain truth seems to be, and it is rather surprising to us, that such great geniuses as Burke, Akenside, Jeffrey and a score of others, should have overlooked it, that beauty pleases the eye, for precisely the same reason, for which music delights the ear, and a fine perfume the sense of smell. We cannot tell why we look upon the delicate blue of a clear summer sky with more delight, than upon the gloomy grey of a cloudy November morning; any more than we can tell why the soft breathings of an Æolian harp are more agreeable to the ear, than the filing of a saw. We can only say, in all these cases, that such is the fact.

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This is a subject, upon which it would be easy to write volumes; but as our present object is only to write a review, and as our readers are not fond of long articles, we must hasten to a close. We have said so much upon the principle of beauty, that we have left ourselves but little room to speak of the means of preserving it. These, however, may be summed up in a few words. With all our respect for our friend L'Ami, we apprehend, that a pleasant humor, a quiet conscience, and plenty of exercise in the open air, will be found to be the best cosmetics. The whole theory upon this point, as far as the preservation of beauty is concerned, is, in fact, very neatly expressed in the ancient adage, *Handsome is, that handsome does.*

ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of Oberlin.*

Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled from authentic Sources, chiefly in French and German. London. 1829. pp. 362. 8vo.

Steinthal, or the Ban de la Roche, is a small canton hidden in the mountains of the German boundary of France. It belonged to the province of Alsace, which was ceded to Louis XIV. in 1648, and divided into the departments of Upper and Lower Rhine. La Roche lies in the latter, within a day's journey of Strasburg. Its area contains about nine thousand acres of land, constituting two parishes; the Rothau settlement forming one, and the hamlets of Foudai, Belmont, Waldbach, Bellefosse and Zolbach, the other. Waldbach, the central village, and the seat of the parsonage, stands on the acclivity of the Champ de Feu, a mountain which rises three thousand six hundred feet above the sea, and is supposed to be of volcanic origin. The temperature and fertility of the district greatly vary; in the higher parts, the climate is said to be Russian, while the valleys enjoy the soft warmth of a Genevan sky. In the bleak exposures, the snow, in many years, remains from September to June. The prevalent religion is the Lutheran, the toleration of which was guarantied to the inhabitants on their union with France.

Owing to its inaccessible site—having only a foot-path leading to the German highway—the barrenness of the soil, and

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the ignorance of the population, consisting of not more than seventy or eighty families, this district was well nigh forgotten. It furnished no attraction to draw the traveller from his course, or to invite the visits of traders. Its spiritual guardian—the Lutheran Consistory of Strasburg—seem to have assigned it as a place of retirement for their superannuated curates, who contributed nothing to the moral or civil advancement of their charge. The result of this disastrous combination was, that in 1750, the people were on the confines of primitive barbarism. Cut off in their mountain seclusion from intercourse with the moving world, they gradually lost the natural incentives to labor, and gave way to their constitutional inactivity. Their fields lay fallow, or scarcely repaid the tillage, because the cultivators were ignorant of the virtues of manure; they lived in wretched hovels, cut out of the rocks, or dug into the sides of the mountains; the potato—long the staple of the district—being their main, and often their only food.

In that year, however, whether accidentally or from compunction, the Church presented a man of enterprise and piety to the hopeful benefice. In the exploratory examination which M. Stouber made of his charge, his first inquiries were directed at the institutions of education. He was, accordingly, conducted to the principal school, (saving the antiphrasis,) where the pupils were rioting in noise and play. The pedagogue was discovered stretched on a pallet in a corner of the room, and candidly disclosed, in reply to the questions of his visitor, that the station of teacher had been conferred on him in consideration of the ability with which he had tended the Waldbach pigs; his age and infirmity disqualifying him for a swine-herd, he professed to teach the children all he knew; which, as he owned, was nothing. The masters in the other villages had no advantage over this veteran, except in youth, and when Stouber endeavored to persuade some of the better informed young men to undertake the task, he found that the office had become so degraded in the public estimation, that there was no prospect of success. He at length adopted the expedient of abolishing the vulgar title of schoolmaster, and a number at once consented to act as *Messieurs les Regents.* Teachers and a suitable building being provided, the popular prejudice was excited against the innovation, by a dislike of its expensiveness, and the fear of not a few, that their children were to be submitted to some occult mode of acquiring

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knowledge; of which they thought they discovered alarming indications in the detached letters and syllables, used by the abecedarians.

The progress of the pupils in the mystery of reading dispelled these fears; and such, at length, became the emulation for knowledge, that Stouber was encouraged to open a seminary for adults, who were taught on Sunday, and in the evenings of winter. He distributed among them fifty bibles, each divided into three portions, for more extensive circulation. When they became convinced that these diminutive copies were as authentic as the large book they had been accustomed to see in the pulpit, they were highly prized and sedulously perused.

Excepting an interval of four years' service in another cure, Stouber resided at Waldbach in the faithful discharge of his duties until 1767, when he accepted the appointment to a church in Strasburg, and prevailed upon Mr. Oberlin to become his successor in the Ban. To the biography and character of this individual we now direct the attention of our readers.

Jean-Frederic Oberlin was born at Strasburg, on the last day of August, 1740. His father was a teacher in the gymnasium of that place, a man of good acquirements and respectability, and the instructer of his nine children. To their affectionate mother, also, they were indebted for a sound and prudent inculcation of their moral and religious duties. John Frederic manifested an early inclination to a military life, but readily yielded to the wish of his father that he should embrace a learned profession. Several anecdotes are related of the uncommon benevolence of his disposition in childhood, and the unusual sacrifices and personal courage he displayed in behalf of the suffering or oppressed. These traits are at once recognised as the germs of a character, which expanded into noble developement in his manhood.

After the usual preliminary education, Oberlin entered the theological class of the University at Strasburg, and in due time was ordained as a minister. He did not undertake any parochial charge, but served for seven years as tutor in the family of a distinguished surgeon, in whose service he casually acquired a portion of medical knowledge, which was of great use to him afterwards in Waldbach. The following pleasant anecdote is related as an example of the influence he acquired by his exemplary virtues among his fellow-citizens.

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'An honest tradesman, relying on the power of his faith, came to him one day, and after a long introduction, informed him, that a ghost, habited in the dress of an ancient knight, frequently presented itself before him, and awakened hopes of discovering a treasure buried in his cellar; he had often, he said, followed it, but had always been so much alarmed by a fearful noise, and by a dog, which he fancied he saw, that the effort had proved fruitless, and he had returned as he went. This alarm, on the one hand, and the hope of acquiring riches on the other, so entirely absorbed his mind, that he could no longer apply to his trade with his former industry, and had, in consequence, lost nearly all his custom. He, therefore, urgently begged that Oberlin would go to his house and conjure the ghost, for the purpose of either putting him in possession of the treasure, or of discontinuing its visits. Oberlin replied, that he did not trouble himself with the conjuration of ghosts, and endeavored to weaken the notion of an apparition in the man's mind, exhorting him at the same time, to seek for wealth by application to his business. Observing, however, that his efforts were unavailing, he promised to comply with the man's request. On arriving, at midnight, at the tradesman's house, he found him in company with his wife and several female relations, seated in a circle in the middle of the apartment. Suddenly the whole company turned pale, and the man exclaimed, "Do you see, Sir, the Count is standing opposite to you?" "I see nothing." "Now, Sir," exclaimed another terrified voice, "he is advancing towards you." "I still do not see him." "Now he is standing just behind your chair." "And yet I cannot see him; but, as you say he is so near me, I will speak to him." Then rising from his seat, and turning towards the corner where they said that he stood, he continued, "Sir Count, they tell me you are standing before me, although I cannot see you, but this shall not prevent me from informing you, that it is scandalous conduct on your part, by the fruitless promise of a hidden treasure, to lead an honest man, who has hitherto faithfully followed his calling, into ruin—to induce him to neglect his business—and to bring misery upon his wife and children by rendering him improvident and idle; begone, and delude them no longer with such vain hopes."

'Upon this the people assured him, that the ghost vanished at once. Oberlin went home, and the poor man, taking the hint which in his address to the Count he had intended to convey, applied to business with his former alacrity, and never again complained of his nocturnal visitor.'

In 1766, Oberlin accepted a chaplainship in a French regiment; but while he was occupied with the preparatory studies,

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the situation and prospects of the people of Steinthal were represented to him by M. Stouber, in such a light, that, at his solicitation, he resigned the military appointment. He found no competitor for the station, and entered on his residence at Waldbach in March, 1767, being at that time in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

The only mode of communication which the greater part of the parish had with the neighboring towns lay through the river Bruche, where its waters were shallow enough to be passed on foot; the farmers had no implements and no means of procuring them; the produce of their fields was inadequate to the consumption, and the subjection, in which they were held to the lords of the domain disheartened them from exertion.

It required much practical wisdom to effect a reform, on the scale projected by Oberlin. His first suggestion of the kind aroused the opposition of the most lawless of the subjects of his patriarchal dominion. A conspiracy was even formed to waylay him, and inflict violence on his person, which his ready wisdom frustrated. Having received notice of their design, which was to be executed on Sunday, he preached on that day on the Christian duty of meekness under injury. After the service, the ruffians assembled to await the time appointed for the execution of their purpose, and were amusing themselves in surmising how far the pastor would act upon the doctrine of his sermon, when they should put it to a practical test. Suddenly the door of the apartment opened;

'Here am I, my friends,' said Oberlin, with his habitual dignity and calmness, 'I am acquainted with your design. You have wished to chastise me, because you consider me culpable. If I have indeed violated the rules I have laid down for you, punish me for it. It is better that I should deliver myself into your hands, than that you should be guilty of the meanness of an ambuscade.'

At this apparition and address, they sued humbly for forgiveness; and the authors of this and other plots of the kind, which were defeated by the same firmness, endeavored to remove all reproach for their meditated offences, by double zeal in furthering his views.

In 1768, Oberlin married Madeleine Salomé Witter, an orphan daughter of a professor of the University and a relative of his own family. It was his rule to enter upon no engage-

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ment or service, until he was persuaded that Providence was propitious to his design. He carried this principle to a rather amusing extreme in his matrimonial plans, and failed in his first attempt, or rather withdrew from his proposed suit, because the *mother* of the lady he had chosen did not make the first proposal; which he had fixed upon as the omen, by which he should know whether she were the partner designed for him by Heaven.

'The mother gave him a courteous reception, and even called down her daughter, whose appearance did not, however, particularly please him; they sat down, talked of a pretended cause of the visit, of the weather, and of the news about the town, till at length, all topics being exhausted, a silence succeeded; the parties looked at each other in some surprise, for Oberlin was a novel visitor there, and then looked down again. This scene of "silent state" lasted about two minutes, when the latter, who had decided in his own mind how to act, made a polite bow and took his departure, leaving both mother and daughter at a loss to conjecture the cause of this singular visit, and the marriage was never again thought of.'

The secret most probably is, that the match was set on foot by his mother; when he made his own choice, he acted more discreetly. Miss Witter, being on a visit to Waldbach,

'The time of her departure at length drew near. Only two days before the period fixed upon for her return to Strasburg, Oberlin felt as though a secret voice within whispered, "Take her for thy partner!" He, however, resisted the call. "It is impossible," said he, almost aloud—"our dispositions do not agree." "Take her for thy partner!" the voice still continued. He spent a sleepless night, and in his prayers next morning solemnly declared to God, that if He could give him a sign, by the readiness with which Madeleine should accede to the proposition, that the union was in accordance with His will, he would cheerfully submit to it, and consider the voice he had heard as a bidding of Providence.

'After breakfast, the same morning, he found the young lady sitting in a summer-house in the garden. Placing himself beside her, he began the conversation by saying, "You are about to leave us, my dear friend; I have had an intimation that you are destined, by the Divine will, to be the partner of my life. If you can venture upon this step, so important to us both, I expect you will give me your candid opinion about it, before your departure."

'Upon this Miss Witter rose from her seat, and, blushing as

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she approached him, placed one hand before her eyes, and held the other towards him. He clasped it in his own. The decision was made; a decision which he never found cause to regret, for, notwithstanding the determination Madeleine had made, not to be allied to a minister, she became truly devoted to his interests, and the most cordial attachment ever afterwards subsisted between them.'

To open a communication with the civilized world, was among the primary objects of the Pastor's care, and for this purpose he devised a road to intersect the great highway from France to Germany, through Strasburg. In a general convocation of the peasants, he opened his plan to them, and recommended that they should proceed at once to blast the rocks, in order to obtain stone to construct a wall about a mile and a half in length along the banks of the Bruche, for the support of a river road, which was to terminate in a bridge to be thrown across it at Rothau. The proposal astounded them as visionary and impracticable, and they unanimously began to make excuses for not assisting in the mad enterprise. Oberlin represented to them the advantages they would enjoy by having a market for their produce, and a free intercourse with the neighboring districts. The reward seemed still disproportionate to the toil. Oberlin, having wasted his arguments, now threw a pick-axe over his shoulder, and invited those to join him who would. An enthusiasm then seized the boors, which effected all that was desired. The pastor was soon followed by an ample corps, to whom he assigned their respective tasks, taking the most laborious parts to his own share, and animating them by his example. In a few months the work was completed, and a way opened to Strasburg, 'over a fine road and the neat *pont de charité*.' The roads leading from the several villages of the parishes were next laid out or improved, and thus the first step of civilization was accomplished. As the district was wholly destitute of mechanics, Oberlin selected the most ingenious lads and bound them to masters in Strasburg. When their trades were acquired, they returned to serve the peasantry, and instruct their own apprentices. The people were also persuaded to abandon their cavernous abodes, and to avail themselves of the skill of their new artisans in providing comfortable cottages.

The state of agriculture next engaged his attention. The science had been nearly lost, through the slothfulness and pov-

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erty of the cultivators, yet they were unwilling to receive instruction from a clergyman who had spent his life in a city. Deferring, apparently, to their prejudice, Oberlin resolved to make a more urgent appeal to their senses, and set about cultivating the gardens of the parsonage, which were well known to contain some of the poorest land in the parish. He planted a nursery of fruit trees in trenches of better earth, and reared a beautiful orchard of several varieties unknown to that region. The experiment was successful, and the wondering peasants eagerly sought to know the secret of such mysterious success. Planting and grafting became a general employment, and the cottages were surrounded with

> 'A circling row
> Of goodliest trees, laden with fairest fruit;'

which had heretofore looked upon only

> 'The champaign head
> Of a steep wilderness, whose heavy sides,
> With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,
> Access denied; and over head up-grew
> Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
> Cedar, and pine, and fir.'

The old people remembered to have heard from their fathers, that prior to the year 1709, the peasantry depended principally upon wild apples and pears for their sustenance. A famine, which visited them in that year, compelled them to cultivate the species of potato, for which the district is still celebrated; but owing to their ignorance of the method of recovering crops, the productiveness of the fields had diminished in 1767, to a third or fourth of their former returns. Oberlin taught them the science from Parmentier, procured seed from Switzerland and Holland, and they had afterwards a surplus for exportation. He introduced a variety of herbs and leguminous plants; the culture of flax and Dutch clover became common; he taught them to extract wine from the wild-cherry, juniper, and dog-rose, oil from beech-nuts, and brandy from elder-berries. The indigenous plants were made to yield their properties, as his botanical skill found them useful for food, or in the arts. The fermentation of manure, and the conversion of vegetable substances into compost, were important contributions to their stock of knowledge, and the improvement of the shallow soil. At great expense of labor in blast-

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ing rocks, or covering them with earth, the least useful pastures were turned into arable ground, and the cattle stalled, by which means the quantity of grain, as well as of milk and butter, was greatly increased. At length, to promote the improvement of husbandry in its largest extent, he formed (in 1778) the most intelligent farmers into an Agricultural Society, connected with one at Strasburg. Appropriate works were obtained for circulation and reference, and prizes established for competition in raising produce and cattle. Once a fortnight, Oberlin devoted two hours to a familiar lecture on subjects connected with tillage and grazing.

The literary and religious improvement of his people, were no less zealously attended to than the external reforms which we have detailed. His regular clerical duties were punctually discharged in the pulpit, in friendly visits, and in private charity. M. Stouber's plan of providing schools, was greatly enlarged. To overcome the objections made to an increase of the expensiveness of education, he entered into an engagement, previously to commencing the erection of commodious edifices, that no part of their cost should be charged upon the parish funds. He began with his own slender capital, and the contributions of his friends in Strasburg; and in a few years had the satisfaction of seeing a school-house in each of the five villages, and the inhabitants voluntarily assuming the expense and superintendence of them. In the meantime, the teachers were passing through a course of preparation for their office, and children from the ages of two to six years, were the only members of the community who were not usefully employed. Nor did they long escape the vigilant providence of the pastor. To him belongs the honor of introducing *Infant Schools*, and the models of the Ban de la Roche have received few improvements, since their adoption in France, Britain and America. In each *commune*, he placed one of these nurseries under the care of two intelligent females, called *conductrices*, defraying the expense from his own resources. The children were taught to read, and to knit, spin and sew; they were entertained with pictures representing Scripture scenes, or subjects of natural history, accompanied with appropriate explanations and examination. They learned the first lines of Geography, on maps constructed for their use; they were also instructed in singing, and special attention was paid to the correction of their *patois*. At the proper age, they were removed to the higher schools, where they

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passed through the ordinary branches of education, and learned the principles of agriculture, astronomy and history. Every Sunday, the children of each village in rotation, recited the religious lessons of the week to the *Cher Papa*, as he was universally called, sung their hymns, and received his exhortations. This system was devised several years before modern Sunday-schools were commenced in Great Britain.* All the scholars of the district met weekly at Waldbach, that the pastor might compare the qualifications and systems of the different teachers, and excite a general emulation among them.

The liberality of his Strasburg friends enabled Oberlin to establish a circulating library for the use of the children, and a book-society, for their seniors and for families. A number of school-books were printed for the exclusive use of the Ban. A mathematical and philosophical apparatus was procured, and prizes distributed to teachers and scholars. He prepared and published an Almanac, divested of the usual symbols of superstition, and adapted to the taste of the people. The children of ten or twelve years, were required to copy and commit to memory essays on agriculture, and were initiated in the science of botany, for which the Steinthal afforded a fine field, as its natural products are supposed to comprise one thousand of the four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four species of the French Flora. In domesticating the wild plants, and copying flowers with the pencil, the young naturalists made great proficiency; the presentation of living garlands, or of a painted copy, with affectionate inscriptions, was among the interesting acknowledgements they made upon festive occasions to the *Cher Papa* and their other benefactors. One of these occasions, was the presenting to the pastor of the first-fruits of the two trees, which each child was required to plant at a certain age in a designated spot.

In January, 1784, a severe calamity befel Oberlin in the sudden decease of his wife. This event severed his fondest hold upon life, and it became his constant prayer to be reunited to her in another world.

'Every day he devoted whole hours to holding communion with her in those elevated frames of mind, which require not the aid of superstition to make us conscious of the presence of those we love.'

*The real founder of Sunday-schools was Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in the sixteenth century; and they have never, we believe, been intermitted, to this day, in that diocese.

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He was left with seven children, and the care of his household devolved upon an orphan girl, whom he had adopted into his family, and who was one of the most active *conductrices* of the infant schools.

A visitor of the Ban in 1793, describes the primitive simplicity and intelligence of the inhabitants as remarkable; carrying back the imagination of the beholder to past, or ideal ages of peace and innocence. Some of the peculiarities of the worthy author of these changes are recorded. The walls of his house were covered with maps, drawings, and vignettes; and verses from the bible were inscribed over all his doors, as Moses was required to write the words of the law 'upon the posts of the house.' On the entrance of his visitors, he presented each with a printed text, of which he had thousands of copies to distribute at every opportunity, and upon which he endorsed his receipts, messages, &c. His study was lined with engravings of portraits, insects, animals, and minerals.

'I am writing this at his table,' says one of his visitors, 'whilst he is busily preparing leathern gloves for his peasant children. His family are around him, engaged in their different avocations; his eldest son, Frederic, is giving a lesson to some of the little ones, in which amusement and instruction are judiciously blended; and the *Cher Papa*, without desisting from his employment, frequently puts in a word. He took me this morning into his work-shop, where there is a turner's lathe, a complete set of carpenter's tools, together with a printing-press, and one for book-binding. I assisted him in coloring a quire of paper, which is intended for covers of school-books. He gives scarcely any thing to his people but what has been, in some measure, prepared by his own or his children's hands.

'He will never leave this place. A much better living was once offered to him; "No," said he, "I have been ten years learning every head in my parish, and obtaining an inventory of their moral, intellectual, and domestic wants. I have laid my plan. I must have ten years to carry it into execution, and the ten following to correct their faults and vices.'

Steinthal escaped much, comparatively, of the distress which attended the revolution. The pastor was deprived of his stipend, and the subscriptions of the parishioners, which they offered in its place, never exceeded fourteen hundred francs annually; whilst for two successive years, he received but four hundred francs in each. He would never accept fees for his parochial duties. 'My people,' he used to say, 'are

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born, married, and buried free of expense, at least, as far as their clergyman is concerned.' In this exigency he took charge of a few private pupils, the sons of foreigners of distinction, and by his frugality, was able to bestow a considerable portion of the emolument upon his needy peasantry.

In 1793, his eldest son Frederic fell in battle; a loss which he felt most severely. Whilst religious worship was interdicted throughout France, and most of the clergy of Alsace were imprisoned, Oberlin was not only unmolested in his employments, but upon being cited before the Supreme Court of the department, on a charge of favoring Joseph II., he was acquitted, with an expression of regret from the bench, that even a momentary interruption of his course had taken place. The pastor's views of the morals of politics were of the old-fashioned school of patriotism.

'We are republicans,' he said in a paper addressed to the younger inhabitants, in 1794—'we are republicans, when we neither live, nor act, nor undertake any thing, nor choose a profession or situation, nor settle in life, except for the public good.

'We are republicans, when, from love to the public, we endeavor, by example as well as by precept, to stimulate our children to active beneficence; and seek to render them useful to others, by turning their attention to such pursuits as are likely to increase the public prosperity.

'We are republicans, when we endeavor to imbue the minds of our children with the love of science, and with such knowledge as may be likely, in maturer life, to make them useful in the stations they may be called to occupy; and when we teach them to "love their neighbors as themselves."

'Lastly, we are republicans, when we preserve our children from that self-interested spirit, which, at the present day, seems to have gained more ascendency than ever over a nation, whose people have, notwithstanding, reason to regard each other, and to love each other as brethren, but the greater part of whom care only for themselves, and labor only for the public good when they are compelled to do so. Far from us be this spirit! It is as anti-republican as it is anti-christian.'

In consequence of the interruption of trade, incident to the state of the country, he refused to receive any salary, or to permit any collections to be made for his personal maintenance, or the support of his various institutions of education, religion, and charity; giving notice, that whenever any one had money or produce which he could conveniently spare, it might be

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brought to him, and assuring all, that no complaint should be made if they brought nothing. In return for all the articles thus furnished, he gave an acknowledgement written on the back of the cards containing his printed texts. He was however enabled, during all the pressure of the Revolution, not only to maintain inviolate his determination to owe nothing, but to persevere in a plan he had adopted, of devoting three tenths of all his receipts to useful objects. These he divided, 1st, into a fund for building and repairing schools and churches, for the salaries of the *conductrices*, the purchase of Bibles, and the general purposes of religion; 2. For the improvement of roads, school-masters' wages, public works, Sunday dinners to the poor people who came from other villages, &c. The third was consecrated to the service of the poor. He sold all his plate in order to make a donation to a Paris Missionary Society, with the reservation of a single spoon, which he bequeathed to a similar association at Bâsle. He had indeed at one period of his life, determined to become a missionary himself. His design of embarking for a destitute station in Pennsylvania, was only frustrated by the occurrence of our Revolution. Nor were his sympathies less comprehensive than his charity; a description of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies so deeply affected him, that he ever afterwards abstained from the use of sugar and coffee. But the most remarkable instance of his conscientiousness, was his redeeming, at his own expense, the *assignats* of the Convention of 1794, which happened to be in the hands of the peasantry, when they were rendered nearly valueless by a decree of the Directory. To this he was urged, not only by anxiety to save his people from the loss, but to preserve, in some measure, the credit of the government, who were unable to satisfy their creditors. One of these *assignats* is extant, with this inscription by his hand, '*Ainsi, grace à Dieu, ma nation est encore déchargée d'une manière honnête de cette obligation de* 125 *francs.*' By taking these notes at their par value, he succeeded, in the course of twenty-five years, in redeeming all that were retained in the Ban.

The largeness of his benevolent desires was well indicated during the delirium of a severe illness, in 1794, when he continually called upon his attendants for thousands and thousands of money to promote his plans. In the subdivision of the duties of benevolence, the care of orphan children was spontaneously assumed by several respectable females, without

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any expectation of reward. Two of these sisters of charity, dependent on their own labor for the means of support, had charge, at one time, of ten destitute children, whom they clothed, educated, and supported. At the instance of the Pastor, other females devoted a part of their leisure hours to reading the Bible to the aged or illiterate of the parish; and some kept free schools for such children as, from their poverty or remoteness, could not attend those in the villages.

Several of his children being married, three of his daughters to respectable clergymen, two sons settled in the ministry, and others resident in the Ban, he devolved upon them the more active duties of supervision, for which his advancing years were gradually unfitting him. Various arts had been introduced to meet the increasing industry of the population, which, in 1813, amounted to three thousand souls. Cotton-spinning and weaving, ribband-making, straw-plaiting, and dyeing, were their principal employments. That year is memorable in the annals of Waldbach for having witnessed the close of a litigation, which had been pending for more than eighty years, between the peasantry and the feudal *Seigneurs*, respecting the right to the forests. The dispute had been maintained with equal obstinacy, and at great expense, by both parties. So much did the existence of this dispute distress the pacific Pastor, that the following inscription had for many years been placed over one of his doors.

'O God, have mercy on the Steinthal, and put an end to the law-suit!'

All the influence which he possessed over his flock was exerted to persuade them to consent to a compromise. He at length succeeded; the prefect of the province met his proposals with a readiness inspired by his respect for the character of the Pastor, and the contest was brought to an end. The Mayors, in deputation, requested Oberlin to preserve the pen, with which the amicable agreement was signed, as a trophy of the victory his mild virtues and Christian influence had gained over long animosity. Oberlin hung up the pen in his study, and often said, that the day it commemorated was one of the happiest of his life.

In the winter of 1817, he was called to follow another child to the grave. His son Henry, who had returned from Russia, where he had served as tutor in the family of Count Richter, of Riga, contracted a pulmonary disease in consequence of his

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exertions in assisting to extinguish a fire, in a town in which he was spending the night, on a tour through France. He removed to Rothau for the benefit of his brother's advice, who was both a clergyman and a physician; but perceiving his complaint to be rapidly approaching a fatal crisis, he desired to die at the house of his father. The wish was no sooner known, than twelve peasants offered to carry him on a litter to the paternal roof, a distance of six miles. It was thought more advisable to convey him in a covered cart; and the twelve preceded it, removing every stone and obstacle in the road. Among his dying expressions, he frequently repeated these words of the Gospel of John, v. 24, '*de la mort à la vie—de la mort à la vie*,' from which words the Pastor, then within three years of fourscore, preached a sermon on the day succeeding his son's death.

The Royal Agricultural Society of Paris voted Oberlin a gold medal, in 1818, for his promotion of the science in the Ban. The Count de Neufchâteau, in proposing this honor, warmly testified to the improvements the pastor had effected in his humble parish, and stated that Waldbach should serve as a model to the government in all their future plans of organizing new villages. Louis XVIII. conferred upon him the decoration of the Legion of Honor. These distinctions were the more surprising to the modest recipient, from the fact that he never went to any considerable distance from his parish, and in the whole course of his life had not even seen Paris. 'The King,' he said, 'has had the goodness to send me this decoration; but what have I done to merit it? Who, in my situation, would not have acted as I have done, and perhaps better still?'

Oberlin's personal manners were admirably adapted to his station. While entire equality was maintained with all the villagers, and his notice of them was indiscriminately familiar and kind, he preserved a dignity which commanded universal and filial respect. He was careful to set an example which should not be liable to misconstruction, or appear opposed to his precepts. In this, as in every other matter, he was to the last degree scrupulous.

'On one occasion,' says a visitor, 'as we were walking up a hill, he had the arm of his son-in-law, whilst my wife was walking alone. Fearing that this might be considered self-indulgent or disrespectful by some of his younger parishioners whom we happened to pass, (though he was then in his eightieth year,) he

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stopped to make an apology for this apparent disregard of the law of civility and kindness.'

'I happened one day, when we were driven by a man, who seemed to go in a hazardous manner, to say "take care." The pastor appeared hurt at this admonition, both on my account and on that of the driver. He assured me that all was safe, and at the end of the drive, took the greatest pains to prevent any feeling of vexation, which might arise in the mind of his parishioner.'

His activity was unceasing. He was at one time minister, schoolmaster, farmer, mechanic and physician to the parish. He would climb the steepest of the Vosges, through cold and snow, to visit the sick, often travelling to Strasburg in the night to procure medicine. His sermons, catechetical exercises, societies for religious conversation and charitable purposes, were, some one of them, almost daily demanding his presence. Besides these clerical services, he addressed circulars to particular classes of his people with advice or monitions on subjects of moral or domestic concern, which could not well be presented from the pulpit. Sometimes he addressed to them questions, to which they were expected to return written replies. Every Friday he conducted a service in German, for the benefit of those to whom that language was more familiar than the French. On this occasion he laid aside all formality, the women knit stockings for the poor, whilst the patriarch would pursue a train of familiar reflections on some portion of Scripture. To prevent weariness, he would occasionally inquire, 'Well, my children, are you not tired? Have you not heard enough? Tell me, my friends.' And according to the frank reply of 'No, Papa, go on,' or 'Enough, we believe, for this time,' he would resume or discontinue the discourse. His toleration was unbounded. Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, met at his communion table; and to meet their respective scruples on the subject of the species of bread used in the sacrament, he provided wafers, and leavened and unleavened bread. In the early part of his ministry, he reprehended a mob which abused a poor Jew, who happened to stray into the parish, observing with unusual warmth, that if the stranger wanted the name of a Christian, their conduct proved that they were equally destitute of the Christian spirit.

Oberlin amused himself with the study of physiognomy and phrenology, to which he was probably invited by the warm friendship which subsisted for several years between him and

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Lavater, of Zurich. He collected a large number of profiles under which he portrayed the characters of his friends, and the supposed characteristics of strangers. Upon his own profile, he made this antithetical estimate of himself.

'I am a strange compound of contradictory qualities. I do not yet exactly know, what to think of myself. I am intelligent, and yet possessed of very limited powers:—prudent and more politic than my fellow-clergymen, but also very apt to blunder, especially when in the least excited. I am firm, yet of a yielding disposition; and both, in certain cases, to a great degree. I am not only daring, but even courageous; whilst, at the same time, I am often in secret very cowardly. I am very upright and sincere, yet also very complaisant to men, and in a degree, therefore, insincere. I am a German and a Frenchman; noble, generous, ready to render service, faithful, very grateful,—deeply affected by the least benefit or kindness, which is ever after engraven on my heart; and yet again flighty and indifferent. I am irritable to a formidable degree. He who treats me generously soon gains an ascendency over me; but opposition creates in me an astonishing degree of firmness, especially in matters of conscience. I have a lively imagination, but no memory, properly speaking. The histories which I have taken pains to impress on my mind remain with me, but dates and the names of persons I often forget the next day, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to remember them. I used to speak Latin fluently, and even elegantly, but now I cannot utter three or four words together. I make selections from books, and instruct others in some branch of science for a long time; but a few years after, my scholars, even if they know nothing, have then what I taught them, many in their turn become my teachers, and the books from which I made extracts (with the exception of those of a certain description) appear wholly new to me.

'I habitually work my way through my studies till I obtain clear ideas; but if I wish to penetrate deeper, every thing vanishes before me. I have a great talent for removing difficulties, in order to render every thing smooth and easy to myself, and to every body else. I am so extremely sensitive, tender and compassionate, that I can find neither words nor expressions corresponding to my feelings, so that the latter almost overpower me, and occasion me acute pain. I am always busy and industrious, but also fond of ease and indolence. I am generally quick in resolving, and equally so in executing. I have a peculiar esteem for the female sex. I am a very great admirer of painting, music, and poetry, and yet I have no skill in any of them. Me-

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chanics, natural history, and so forth, constitute my favorite studies. I am very fond of regularity, and of arranging and classifying, but my weak memory, added to constant employment, renders it difficult to me. I am given to planning and scheming, and yet endeavor, in my peculiar way, to do things in the best manner.

'I am a genuine soldier, but was more so before my bodily powers were so much weakened; I was formerly anxious to be the foremost in danger, and the firmest in pain, but have now lost that desire. From my childhood I have felt a longing and preponderating desire for a higher state of existence, and therefore a wish for death. I am the greatest admirer of military order and subordination, not however in a spirit of slavery, but of that noble and affectionate attachment which compels the coward to show courage, and the disorderly to be punctual. I feel no obstinacy or disinclination to yield to strong internal conviction, but on the other hand, a fervent heart-felt joy in yielding to both great and small, high and low, gentlemen and peasants, children and servants, and thence a willingness to listen, and an inclination to suffer myself, if possible, to be convinced. But when I feel no conviction, I never think of yielding. I am humorous, and a little witty or satirical, but without intentional malice.'

After entering upon his eightieth year, Oberlin was obliged gradually to retire from all his active duties; but he was able to exercise a general superintendence over his people, and devoted much of his time to praying for them, which he did *seriatim* in the order of their baptismal registry. The vigor of his intellect remained, and he wrote several essays, amongst which was a refutation of *Cicero de Senectute*. His mortal illness attacked him on the 28th of May, 1826, and with a calmness entirely accordant with his character, he resigned his being on the 1st of June, in his eighty-sixth year. The decease of the personage, who for nearly sixty years had presided over the destinies of their little world, and had guided them and their fathers from ignorance and wretchedness, to the blessings of intelligence and domestic comfort, excited inexpressible sensations in the community. They were at once deprived of their spiritual, intellectual, and social guide, who had led them from their infancy and provided for all the variety of their wants. The whole population crowded to view the beloved remains, during the four days that intervened between his death and interment. The procession at the funeral extended the distance of two miles from the parsonage to the

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Foudai church. During its progress, the melancholy toll of the village bell mingled with the chanting of the school-children; the burying-ground was surrounded by females of the Roman Catholic church, habited in mourning, and kneeling in silent prayer. The body was carried into the church, where a paper was read, which had been prepared by Oberlin in anticipation of the occasion, in which he gave an outline of his career, committed his children to the protection of his people, and concluded with a solemn exhortation to remember his admonitions. After other impressive exercises, the body was committed to the earth.

Respecting the present state of Steinthal we have no account, further than that a number of benevolent individuals in England and the continent have undertaken to raise a charitable fund to bear the name of Oberlin, and which shall be devoted to the support of the various seminaries he established.

The compiler of the interesting and well-written biography, from which we have gleaned this article, is a female, who, by withholding her name, modestly declines the honor that is due to her, of having introduced to the world a character of rare lustre in its annals. The philanthropy and piety are above suspicion, which animated a young man of ambition, possessed of talents which would have gained him a respectable eminence in the pursuits of literature, to consign himself to a life of labor in an obscure corner of the world, among a race whose manners and minds were destitute of refinement. It was in such a situation, unknown abroad, and with no resource but in himself, that he persevered for years in the ungracious contest against native prejudices. His persistence, however, was rewarded; and insignificant as the peaceful region which sprung up under his reforming energies may be deemed by history, the example is colossal, and abounds in lessons useful to the world.

ART. IX.—*Geology.*

Geological Text Book. By AMOS EATON, A. M. Albany. 1830.

Truth has had to contend, in all ages, with bigotry and ignorance. Nor is the conflict yet over. A few are still found impotently opposing nature and reason. But we have no fears for the result; the light of knowledge is beaming upon the

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civilized world, almost as steadily as the light of day; and the time appears not to be far distant, when ignorance will lose its character of boldness, and timidly seek the obscurity, where no one will take the trouble to notice it. A new physical deluge, to be sure, might bring our affairs into a very small compass again, but we feel exceedingly comforted at no longer apprehending a deluge of intellectual darkness. We look back with horror upon those times, when hypocrisy, and cant, and mystery, and quackery, and all the ministering attributes of ignorance, were so successfully engaged in weaving a shroud for the human mind. We turn from the picture of those times with disgust, and rejoice in the present enjoyment of our own fair day of existence, when justice and reason are precious in the eyes of men, and bigotry and ignorance are only found lurking in corners.

It is to the study of the great book of nature, that we owe most of those triumphs which reason has achieved. Nothing has more clearly marked the progress of the human mind, than the extraordinary advances which have been made, and which are now in more vigorous progress than ever, in that noble study, the revelation of God to man, by his works. What a bound the human mind has made since the days of Galileo, and what respect and veneration do we owe to his memory! Persecuted and oppressed as a heretic, because the laws of natural bodies, as he taught them, appeared, to the ignorant eyes of his contemporaries, inconsistent with the phenomena of those bodies, as described in the Record consecrated to our moral government; he is nevertheless gratefully honored in our memories, whilst his oppressors are thought of but to be abhorred. Galileo may be said to have laid the corner-stone of natural science, upon which succeeding generations, freed from the fantastical prejudices of an age of darkness, have almost finished a temple consecrated to the harmonies of nature. We were never more forcibly struck with the great distance at which those benighted times have been left, than when on a visit to a friend at the University of Oxford, in England, in 1827. It was upon the occasion of Dr. Buckland's annual geological lecture on horseback. This very novel mode of explaining the great geological features of a country being peculiar to that eminent man, we shall, we hope, amuse our readers, by giving a brief account of it.

About the hour of noon, near a hundred noblemen and gen-

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tlemen on horseback left the city with the Professor, and following the London road at a very animating pace, halted at some gravel pits in the valley. Here Dr. Buckland, dismounting, and gaining a small eminence, addressed the assembly of equestrians in his agreeable, colloquial manner, on the causes which had accumulated the beds of gravel and oyster shells, on which they were standing; he then went rapidly, but very eloquently, into the consideration of great bodies of water in motion, of the abrasion and ruin of the strata, the accompanying denudation of vallies, and the deposit of the *detritus;* illustrating the subject from time to time, by pointing to the inequalities of the surrounding country, showing where the gorges had been left on the retreat of the waters, and how the contemporaneous valleys were bounded by the once continuous strata. Having touched upon every prominent feature of the country around, the Professor remounted his horse, and proceeded at a hand gallop over the plain for the Shotover hills, the cavaliers pressing around him, bridle in hand, that no observation which fell from him might be lost. At the foot of the hills he again stopped at a moist, springy place, and took occasion—in adverting to the atmospheric water received by the porous, superficial soil, being here resisted in its descent, and thrown out by a bed of clay—to explain the origin and nature of springs of a particular character. After visiting the pits of Kimmeridge clay, famous for the Deltoid oyster, this equestrian lecture was most worthily concluded by a very eloquent account of the secondary beds in the vicinity of Oxford, and the Saurian and other organic remains found in them; the whole delivered by the Reverend Professor on horseback, receiving the most profound and grateful attention from every person present. At the conclusion, he uncovered his head, and bowing to his auditors, they dispersed, leaving him with his private friends, who, after some further investigations, returned slowly to the city to finish the day at his hospitable board. It was in the course of that evening, that a venerable cleryman, of whose octogenarian life, more than sixty years had been passed in immediate connexion with the University, in answer to a remark we made, that natural science appeared to be cherished at Oxford as much as at the sister University, observed;

'The character of this University has been misrepresented; it has at all times given, and yet continues to give, great men to the

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nation. Had Oxford never existed, English history would not have been what it now is, and the English character would, perhaps, have been materially different. This, to those who value the moral power of this country, is a sufficient answer to the harsh assertions which have been made, in relation to its supposed monastic habits, by men who perhaps had an interest in debasing the English character to their own conceptions of the dignity of man. To be sure, the lectures you have heard from my nephew this day, on the modern science of geology, are at so great a distance from the ancient scholastic manners of the University, that they have apparently something revolutionary in their character; and it is true, that this science is hardly out of its cradle, and here at Oxford, has been exclusively rocked and nursed by Dr. Buckland, who seems to have been brought forward himself, at the right point of time, by nature and education. Yet Oxford has never, at the most distant periods, been insensible to the progress of intellectual improvement, although she has been slow to convince herself that every innovation was an improvement. When Blackstone prepared to deliver his Law Lectures, he too was considered an innovator, and was made to feel in various ways the influence of established opinions. In an introductory lecture of his, which unfortunately has not been published, he turned the tables very successfully upon his opponents by the following sally; "In those scholastic days, when the inquisitive and original mind of Bacon was directed to the investigation of nature's laws, the theological *animus* conspired against him, and he was accused of holding communion with evil spirits. Upon a particular occasion, when he intended to exhibit some curious experiments to a few select friends, the secret having got out, the whole town, and all the colleges of this University were in an uproar. Priests, and fellows, and students, were seen flying about in every direction, with their gowns streaming behind them, screaming out, "No conjuror, no conjuror." The cry of "No conjuror" resounded from hall to hall, from cell to cell. At a later day, Galileo was condemned by men, whose names are now only remembered as parts of the rubbish upon which the pedestal of his fame is raised. And in our own times, there are men who seek to raise the cry of "No conjuror" against me. I tell you, you will soon find out, that these good people are at least no conjurors themselves."'

The contrast, to be sure, is very striking, between Friar Bacon, secretly exhibiting his curious experiments in physics to an initiated few, in his cell, and Dr. Buckland teaching on horseback, *aperto campo*, the noblest of all subjects, the order and design of creation.

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In applying terms of such unqualified praise, to a science comparatively so little known as Geology yet is, we desire to offer, in justification, some observations for the information of those, who have not yet turned their attention towards it. We would not detract, if we were disposed to do so, from the value of the astronomical truths which were taught by Galileo; he gave the greatest blow to the prejudices of men, and *macadamized* the road of right reason for posterity. It was his example, which led Newton to investigate the motions of the planets and other heavenly bodies, and to measure their revolutions around their common centre. Newton thus became the immortal discoverer of the law of gravity; to the influence of which, all the known circumstances connected with celestial dynamics, have since been successfully referred. It is to astronomical science, that the human mind owes the consideration of the sublimest propositions of the planetary motions; the most profound refinements of mathematical analysis; and the most comprehensive conclusions in regard to the government of the universe, and the power and wisdom of its Creator. But while the beautiful harmony of these movements creates an intensity of feeling in us, beyond the power of language to express; while we are satisfied that the very irregularities and eccentricities of the system—which made even the great mind of Newton doubt its permanency—are periodically compensated, and thus know, what reason would teach us to believe, that the work of an Almighty hand cannot contain within itself the principles of destruction, but that the *fiat* which is to precede its dissolution, must spring from that great Source whence so much order first proceeded; we nevertheless rise from our all-absorbing contemplations unsatisfied; feeling the subject to be super-human, lost in the consideration of space without dimensions, of motions without beginning or end. Such is the result of the labors of the philosophical geometer; the elevation and purification of his mind, in these lofty and aspiring pursuits, may, indeed, be thought to prepare him for a more perfect state of existence, but here, however his spirit may be cheered by views of illimitable intelligence and power, he is lost, as it were, in the extent of his subject.

Without pretending to compare what is only a part, with the whole, we must nevertheless say, that Geology is to us a more attractive study than Astronomy. The phenomena are more within the reach of personal investigation,

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and besides impressing us with those just views of the wisdom and power of the Supreme Being, which are reflected from all parts of nature, we perceive in addition—what cannot be obvious to us in the immense masses, and sublime movements of the heavenly bodies—the most exquisite and affecting proofs of the benevolence of the Creator towards all the animal existences, with which this planet has abounded, from periods of high geological antiquity. We see evidences at all times, of the relation in which they and their food have reciprocally stood to each other, and of the faculties with which they have been gifted, both for reproductive and conservatory purposes. Thence we infer the greatest degree of security and enjoyment, consistent with their respective importance in the scale of beings, and the favor of a Maker to his works. Neither are the great phenomena of our science without beginning or end, like motions in space. The regular succession of the beds composing the geological series, and the still more striking phenomenon of the succession of organized bodies, both animal and vegetable, increasing in the complication of their structure and contrivance, in proportion to the importance of their functions, as they rise in the scale from zoophytes to man, define with distinctness the periods of time which have succeeded each other during the progress of their different revolutions in the substances of the globe. And although in the lower primitive rocks, we begin to lose sight of succession, and our further views are at this time necessarily speculative; yet the subject does not appear to be altogether beyond the powers of the human mind, which, even now, by the light of chemistry, is boldly plunging into deeper and central phenomena, perhaps to form at some future day, not irrational conjectures of the mechanical and material causes of the origin of our planet. For these, and other reasons that occur to us—such as the facility with which we can be at all times familiar with the various and beautiful objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral departments of nature; and the contrast between a sedentary and active pursuit, so much in favor of the latter on the score both of health and personal enjoyment—we are not surprised at the science of Geology being found so attractive, and at the intense interest with which it is pursued at this day, by some of the most powerful minds in Europe.

Nor may we omit to state as a prominent cause of its popu-

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larity, that using the word in the highest sense of the term, Geology comprehends the study of every thing connected with our planet. Volcanic action, to which so interesting a portion of the mineral formations is referred, and from which so many recent phenomena proceed, has become one of the highest branches of Geology. It is the proper province of geological chemistry, by the aid of which the various ages of igneous products are approximated, and to which, perhaps, the solution of the problem, at this time so unsettled, of the igneous or aqueous origin of the lower crystalline beds, and their singular occasional passage into each other, will eventually be owing. To Mineralogy and Chemistry belong also, conjointly, that important branch, which includes the examination of the metals, and their various compounds, and especially those properties of matter, upon which the science of Crystallography depends. Zoology comprehends all the animal natures, whose petrified remains are often found in the beds of those ancient oceans, which appear to have covered every part of the now habitable earth. This extensive division has many important branches. Fossil Conchology belongs to it, by means of which we form reasonable estimates of the agreement or disagreement of the ancient *testacea*, with those which have succeeded them, and with those of our own times; and ascertain to what extent the differences in shells of the same genera and species, may depend upon differences in climate and food, according to known laws. In this branch, we find indubitable evidence of the extensive existence of fresh water, lake and river shells, whereby we infer the existence of ancient lakes and rivers, and of course of dry land, and hills and vales, forming the then surface of the earth, and now lying imbedded in the solid rocks, at great distances from the present surface. Under similar circumstances, we find the fossil remains of gigantic marine and amphibious quadrupeds of the Saurian kind, which we are warranted in believing were in some instances sixty feet long, and from six to ten feet high; also of the *Pterodactylus Macronyx*, a lizard, with powerful membranaceous wings, fitted for transporting it to short distances, and by the crooked claws of which, it could, like the *Draco Volans* of Linnæus, suspend itself to the branches of trees. These magnificent specimens of oviparous quadrupeds, which, in conjunction with innumerable remains of other animals and plants, reveal the often repeated wonders of the pristine animated sur-

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faces, would have remained unnoticed and unexplained, but for the science of Geology. But great and most surprising as these animal phenomena are, they perhaps do not, in beauty and variety, exceed the botanical profusion of the Fossil Flora. It is in the Medial order, where the productive coal measures are found, that lively impressions of the stems and leaves of the plants belonging to those ancient epochs are found in great abundance; from the examination of which, we can form a satisfactory estimate, not only of the progressive order of the vegetable creation, but of the temperature of the climate of which they were natives. At a more advanced period, and one nearer to our own epoch, we find imbedded in the tertiary strata, remains of an order of thick-skinned animals, now entirely extinct; and immediately under the last sedimental deposits, and often buried within them, we find the bones of dry land quadrupeds of a higher order, of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, horse, tiger, hyæna, wolf, bear, sloth, and numerous other animals, all of which are thought to belong to extinct species, and to have existed before the present races were brought into being. We are led to the same conclusions by the osteological remains of the marine mammalia of ancient times, such as the dugong, the lamantin, and the whale. Thus comparative anatomy comes to form a great branch of Geology, and without some knowledge of it, the most attractive part of the ancient history of our planet, remains a sealed book to us. All these various branches of the science, interesting as they are, as isolated objects of knowledge, are limited to the structure and habits of these animals, and have no reference to a higher subject of speculation, the periods in which they existed. It is only by a comprehensive and careful view of all these branches of Geology, that we are enabled to form an estimate worthy of the dignity of this great subject.

Whether we look at the sources of volcanic action, beneath the granite, the lowest of the known rocks, or whether we consider the regular succession of the beds of the whole geological series, found in every known part of the globe, each in the same constant relation to its neighbor;—the gneiss of America never being found below the granite of Europe, nor the secondary rocks discovered out of their proper place in the series, in relation either to the primitive or the tertiary; whilst the animal and vegetable organizations, however widely apart they may be geographically situated, observe the organic and

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progressive relations to each other, which correspond with the age of the mineral formations in which they are imbedded ;—in whatever direction we look, the subject enlarges, our views are extended to the earliest periods, and even to the probable future condition of this globe. All tends to proclaim the wisdom, power, benevolence, order and design of Creation; not as they are exhibited by the natural phenomena of the present surface, but of those ancient surfaces, which have so often flourished under the genial heat of the sun, though now buried far beneath, and forming parts of the internal and solid structure of the earth. For the details and complete proofs of this magnificent truth, we refer our readers to the science itself, especially to the practical part of it. We do not, upon this occasion, attempt to do more than awaken their attention to it. This is a country rich in mineral and organic treasures ; the deposits are upon a mighty scale. The metals, the marbles, the coals, are becoming more and more objects of public attention. Geological knowledge has already a great bearing upon the business of life. Immense sums would have been spared to projectors in Europe, in boring for coal alone, had they known that they were fruitlessly penetrating into depths where it had never been found. But we leave those pursuits with confidence to the interests of those whom they may concern ; preferring to offer natural science to the consideration of our readers upon higher grounds, as a source of individual happiness and national refinement. We should delight, in a country where all political distinctions are forbidden by its institutions, to encourage that sort of refined and intellectual equality, which is perhaps the surest corrective for some remote dangers incident to those institutions, and the best antidote against the degrading influence of factious politics, and unfeeling cupidity ; two avenues of human ambition, to which the public eye is perhaps too feverishly directed. When a superior education shall be more general, and philosophy and the arts assume their influence, to be the successful demagogue of a State, or the sordid possessor of millions, will cease to be exclusive titles to public respect.

Intent as the politicians and philosophers of other countries are, upon the effect which republican institutions are producing upon society on this side the Atlantic, there is another class in Europe, less numerous, though as a body not less respectable, who are deeply interested in the physical resources of this

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country, more immediately connected with the philosophy of nature. We mean, of course, the naturalists of Europe. The taste for natural history, and in particular, geology, has there become almost universal. We already hear of annual conventions of philosophical naturalists in Germany. In surveying our extensive country, its varied surface and climates, they feel some impatience at the tardy attention which nature is receiving at our hands. No work on the subject of American Geology has yet appeared, which deserves to be remembered, except McClure's Sketches. This is a somewhat gloomy picture of the progress of a science among us, to which we attribute such importance; and we should contemplate it with the deepest feelings of regret, if we thought the disadvantages of our situation did not admit of improvement. But we do not think so; we are acquainted with many intelligent individuals, who are ardent in the occasional pursuit of natural knowledge; we are acquainted with the valuable geological collections in some of our cities, and especially of that most respectable institution, the Lyceum of Natural History of the City of New York. The zeal and ability of the gentlemen, who conduct and cherish that institution, are worthy of all praise. The labors of Say,—Mr. Lea's very able papers on the splendid Fresh Water Shells of the American Rivers,—the Osteological Notices of Dr. Hays, and the works of De Kay, Delafield, Cooper, Le Conte, Torrey, Bigelow, Cleaveland and others, are also highly valuable, and hold out the most encouraging prospects in regard to the future condition of natural science.

The progress hereafter to be made, depends much upon the example, and the disinterested labors of the naturalists we have named. That it will be slow, we greatly apprehend, and could give some satisfactory reasons for this opinion; but we are comforted by the belief, that it will be sure. One of the great objections to the study of natural history—as of all the other branches of learning—among us, is the want of leisure. Is there a man distinguished for his taste and knowledge of comparative anatomy? He is probably a physician, and he has numerous patients—he has lectures to prepare and deliver. He is struggling for adequate means to support a family, or to get into a position to have one. He has no leisure to devote steadily to a pursuit which brings him no present advantage. Is there another, whose talents and acquirements fit him for high intellectual pursuits? Perhaps he is

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a lawyer. The wants of a large family are pressing upon him. He is in a constant vortex of professional engagements; he must prepare his cases, and attend the courts; and is too happy, at the close of the day, to refresh his wearied mind in the tranquil bosom of his family. It would be in vain to talk to such a man of Amygdaloids, Trilobites, the Pterodactylus, or the Iguanodon; and of the all-important necessity of attending to the distinguishing characters of the teeth of the Mastodon, in order to settle the point, whether he was ambivorous or not. Such a man has no leisure to understand you, and indeed almost doubts the sanity of one, whose technicalities are so little germane with the technicalities of the law. He, again, who may be supposed to possess a little more leisure, of whom society exacts in return for the emoluments of his sacred calling, only sermons and parochial duties; of whom it might reasonably be expected, that the great book of nature, written by the hand of God himself, should be studied, and held in some veneration, as well as the revelation of his will; perhaps he is held in restraint by that very prejudice of which he is the dependent minister; fearing, lest to unlearn, should be to desecrate himself in the eyes of others. All classes of society, in short, are struggling for existence; all their time is absorbed in other essential duties, and the few persons among us occupying a more favorable position, have difficulties of another kind to contend with; such as want of facilities, want of fellowship, and an enlightened public opinion to discriminate, and judge of their labors.

We notice, however, with pleasure, an increasing attention to the study of natural history in our principal colleges; and we are particularly happy in rendering justice to the persevering zeal and talents of Professor Silliman. Considering the many difficulties he has had to contend with, and the vigor with which he has kept the flag of science flying for so many years, we can say, with all our hearts, that we believe he will be as gratefully remembered hereafter for his public zeal, as he is now cherished for his private worth. We also entertain a very favorable opinion of the labors of the Reverend Professor Hitchcock of Amherst College. We have never read a line from the pen of that gentleman, which has not inspired us with confidence in him, as an accurate observer, governed by a liberal and philosophic spirit. We have the more satisfaction in stating this, because natural history has hitherto received but little support from the clergy.

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We proceed to notice the work before us. It is written by a professed teacher of the science of geology; and one who, taking his own statements to be true, has, from the immense number of his pupils, an opportunity of instructing or misleading a great many thousands of individuals. We deem this to be so important a consideration, as to call for a severe examination of Mr. Eaton's pretensions, as they are put forth in this, and his other published works.

There is scarcely any person among us interested in the progress of physical science, but must have heard of Amos Eaton, and of his chemical, botanical, and, above all, of his geological notoriety. We have read his works, and continue to witness, with surprise, his pertinacious adherence to an arrangement of rocks, and a nomenclature, entirely at variance with nature and perspicuity. If Mr. Eaton had, in a modest, unpretending manner, brought the geological facts he had from time to time collected in the State of New York, into the general stock of practical information, he would have deserved and received unqualified praise. But presuming upon the supposed ignorance of his readers, he has preferred to set himself up for a genius. In this he has most lamentably failed, has greatly injured a cause he seems to be zealous in, and has abused the rare opportunities he has had of doing good, through the favor of the generous individual who has been his patron.* We have heard the most esteemed naturalists of this country express their opinions freely of Mr. Eaton's attainments in natural history, and in no one instance have those opinions differed from our own. We have, nevertheless, hitherto refrained from noticing his works for many reasons. We hoped that the cause of science here would be ultimately favored by continuing to extend indulgence to him. Finding the public so patient under his inflictions, and apparently construing silence into consent, he now makes larger drafts upon their patience, and in his present work, writes in a tone as authoritative, as if he were placed in the geological chair by acclamation, and in a manner that alarms us. For, if, as he states, he have had already seven thousand pupils, and expects 'more still,' and if those pupils, as some no doubt will, should take it into their heads to add new stories to the grotesque edifice he has commenced, the whole world will

* General Van Renselaer.

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by and by think us demented. It is time to put a stop to this charlatanism in science, which already has had its full reign amongst us. To see it increase upon our hands here, and to be laughed at abroad into the bargain, is more than we ought to endure. In his preface to this Text-Book, Mr. Eaton observes, 'I beg the favor of the most rigorous criticism upon this book, small as it is.' Should these observations ever fall under his notice, it may be well that he should remember this invitation. And first, as to our being laughed at abroad:—we are aware that the geologists of Great Britain, who have taken the lead in the science, look with intense anxiety for information from this continent. The formations here are upon so large a scale, and the accumulated effects of causes now in action, are so instructive, owing to the magnitude of the rivers, the position of the mountains, and other circumstances, that it is very probable the sedimentary geological phenomena of the surface will eventually weigh much in the decision of that great question, which is now agitating the European scientific world, viz.; whether the effects of what has been hitherto called diluvial action, are not mainly to be attributed to fluviatile agency. Mr. Eaton with his canal rocks, his synopsis, his *geodiferous* and *cornitiferous*, his diluvion and analluvion, his *prodromuses* and his little wood-cuts, his geology without any principles to it, and his principles illustrated by no geology whatever, has certainly in some degree astonished the Europeans. They are now, however, asking what all this means, and wish to know, whether Mr. Eaton is the avowed representative of geological information and opinions in North America.

In the May number, for 1829, of the '*Bulletin des Sciences Naturelles et de Geologie*,' there is an article, conspicuously placed at the head of the number, upon one of Mr. Eaton's exhibitions in the fourteenth volume of the American Journal of Science. It is written by one of the most distinguished geologists in France; written, we are sure, with great reluctance, for we personally know the writer to be friendly to this country. For the benefit of Mr. Eaton, we give the following translations.

'Mr. Eaton, after having urged the necessity of a good geological nomenclature, seems to believe that we are yet without one, and as if he were a new Werner, gives us one of his own, with-

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out synonymes; that is to say, he gives us some hieroglyphics. *Is this ignorance, or love of novelty?*'

And again,

'In a word, the nomenclature of all the European and American geologists, appears unsuitable to him, and he believes that his queer names, and his little wood-cuts, colored like the deposits, are the *nec plus ultra* of clearness and true Geology.'

Now if his previous performances have been regarded as obnoxious to just censure, what will the European geologists say, when they see this geological text-book, which we cannot forbear to pronounce one of the most extraordinary productions with which *pseudo-science* ever imposed upon the public? But it shall speak for itself; and first, let us look over the preface, where at the second line, we find the following precious period.

'If the earth was (were) washed, and the rocks left clean, Geologists would not disagree in regard to rocks.'

For ourselves, we can only say, that were the earth washed as clean as a penny, we should be very much tempted to take up our hammer and chisel, and try what we could find within its rocks; for, although Mr. Eaton may not know it, it is a fundamental principle of the science, to identify rocks by their organic remains, rather than by their mineral characters, which are very fallible guides. As Mr. Eaton may choose to disregard this assertion, we would ask his attention to the following passage in the annual address of the Rev. Adam Sedgewick, President of the Geological Society of London, delivered before that distinguished body, February 19, 1830.

'Each succeeding year places in a stronger point of view the importance of organic remains, when we attempt to trace the various periods and revolutions in the history of the globe. Crystalline rocks are found associated with the strata of almost every age; and the constant laws of combination, which have produced a certain mineral form in rocks of one era, may produce it again in another.'

He then proceeds to state, that nearly all the modifications of structure, in the rocks called primary, are to be found in the secondary formations; and that all the distinguishing characters of the secondary formations are to be found in the tertiary deposits. Mr. Eaton may gather from this, that it is now the established opinion of the leaders of the science, that mineral

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characters are subordinate to organic characters;—that a teacher of Geology is a person, who explains the animal and vegetable structures found in mineral deposits, and the manner in which fossils are affected by the mineral substances in which they are imbedded. If Mr. Eaton can understand this, he will perceive that all his past labors have been without an object, and that no one, confessedly ignorant of organic remains, as he is, should pretend to be a teacher of Geology.

We could have overlooked the very incorrect and inelegant style of this work, but for the high pretensions of the writer. The familiar, and often light manner in which he speaks of eminent men, is particularly offensive, and is in singular contrast with the courtesy, which writers on science show to each other at this day. But to proceed with our remarks.

'Geology,' says Mr. Eaton, 'is subject to an evil peculiar to itself. If its votaries disagree, the common learner has neither time nor inclination to review their data, by visiting localities referred to, and thus to correct their mistakes, and adjust their differences.'

If experienced geologists are never to agree, until the earth is washed, and until *common learners*, who are supposed to know very little about it, correct their mistakes, and adjust their differences; and, above all, if these common learners have neither *time nor inclination* to set the matter right, there is doubtless very little chance of making further progress, and we must be content with such geology as we can get, and be even thankful to Mr. Eaton for what he may give us, until washing-day arrives. He tells us;

'To stimulate men of science to the work of examination and criticism, I will state, that I intend to publish *considerable* in scientific journals, also a full system, upon this plan.'

We love variety; and a full system, after the empty one before us, will be an agreeable change. There are so many drolleries in Mr. Eaton's Text-Book, that he seems to be apprehensive, lest we should take it to be altogether a piece of pleasantry, and therefore he warns his readers thus;

'I am not in sport; I have, during the last fifteen years, travelled over seventeen thousand miles, for the express purpose of collecting geological materials; the results of which are comprised in this little octavo pamphlet, and exhibited in the accompanying map and wood-cuts.'

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Mr. Eaton has a habit of making confessions, which are not to his credit, and of which we do not see the motive. He says;

'I may be accused of fickleness on account of the changes which appear in every successive book I publish; I confess this is the *ninth time* I have published a geological nomenclature, and that I made changes in each, of more or less importance.'

Again;

'The various deposits of *detritus* had not been thoroughly studied by any American, when I published my last nomenclature. I believe I have made a few changes in that department, which will finally obtain.'

On this head, we must venture to differ from him in opinion. We greatly doubt, whether any of his writings will *obtain;* and are inclined to think, that the first regular work on American geology that appears, will utterly efface every thing that he has published. It is also probable that such a work will appear, before the '*considerable*' which he has promised the world, shall have effected a tenth change in his nomenclature. The following passage is remarkable for its novel orthography, and also for its tone in regard to one of the most learned and philosophic men of the age, to whose labors Geology has been indebted in the highest degree. We allude to Henry De la Beche.

'With all *defference* to the high character of *La Bache*, as an experienced teacher, I may say, that his numerous subdivisions, if adopted, *will ruin the science.*'

We would suggest to Mr. Eaton, that M. De la Beche's subdivisions are the result of a careful examination of all the geological beds, effected by the joint labors of the most enlightened geologists of Europe. The establishment of the series in this detailed manner, is the perfection of human industry and science, and is the true philosophical key to the mineral and organic structure of the earth. And here we have *an experienced teacher*, who does not know how to spell his native tongue, and whose geological information is limited to a few rocks in the State of New York, stating that M. De la Beche *will ruin the science*, for no other reason, that we can imagine, but to exclude from public notice every work upon the subject, except his own.

The only geological fact in this work, which is absolutely new to us, is contained in the following passage;

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'He (Werner) closed his long life in the full splendor of his scientific glory, in the same year (1817) in which *we* began to make our humble efforts in the application of his views to American earth.'

Werner was singularly happy in two things; one, that he did not outlive his reputation; the other, that he died before Mr. Eaton applied his views to American earth. A few lines afterwards he says, 'Scarcely had that earth received his (Werner's) manes, when,' &c. We would suggest to Mr. Eaton, that *manes* and *remains*, however similar in sound, do not mean the same thing. We quote the following sentences for the entertainment of the lovers of poetical imagery;

'Since that time Buckland, aided by the veteran Cuvier, has commanded the whole geological phalanx to leave for a while the deep abode of rocks, and to examine "the open caverns and the furrowed earth." He has led out before us, from the Cave of Kirkdale, the *Anti-diluvial Mastodon, chased and gnawed by hundreds of Hyænas.* He has shown us the torrid abodes of the River-horse and the Elephant to have been in the latitudes of Caledonia and Scythia.'

These remarks, however elegantly expressed, are unfortunately a good deal at variance with the statements given in Dr. Buckland's account of the Kirkdale Cavern. Mr. Eaton makes the mistake at page 62, of supposing his own *geodiferous limerock* (carboniferous limestone) to be the equivalent of the formation *coral rag* in which that oolitic cave is found, there being a geological interval of five thousand feet between them; and as to the *Anti-diluvial Mastodon, chased and gnawed by hundreds of Hyænas*, it will be enough to state, that Dr. Buckland never found a single bone of a Mastodon in that, or in any other cave; and that the rational conclusion to which he arrived in respect to the gnawed bones, and in which all the naturalists of Europe have concurred by acclamation, is, that the Kirkdale Cave was an ancient den of hyænas, into which they brought the bones of dead animals. But here we have a public teacher of geology gravely talking, from the remembrance of some extract he has read, of antediluvian Mastodons, as if these animals, which were from ten to twelve feet high, were in the habit of seeking refuge from their enemies in a cave, the entrance of which, when discovered, was less than two feet high and through a solid rock.

The 'hypothesis of regular deposits,' at page 16, and the

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accompanying illustrations, are hardly less singular. We have the world cut into two halves, for the purpose of exhibiting the interior. Six little fires, with chimneys to them, are nicely built round the edges of one of the hemispheres. The fires are burning very briskly, and the smoke is coming out very prettily. No. 1 is designated, 'The Combustibles under Rocky Mountain; No. 2, New England; No. 3, Britain; No. 4, Alps and Pyrenees; No. 5, Caucasus; No. 6, Himalay.' In the centre we find the words, 'Interior probably undisturbed.' This we presume is added by way of encouragement to such as are disposed to explore Capt. Symmes's *terra incognita*. The Cordilleras, which have some pretensions to the character of mountains of igneous origin, would probably have found a place and a fire, too, if intelligence of their discovery had reached Mr. Amos Eaton. Next comes a very pretty picture of North America, in a 'transverse segment,' extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The distance from Boston to the Catskill Mountains forms about one fourth of the whole distance. Reckoning the geographical distance between the two oceans to be about two thousand five hundred miles, we perceive the Hudson River to be about one hundred and seventy-eight miles above the level of the Atlantic, and nearly on a line with the tops of the Green Mountains. From the bed of the Hudson to the top of the Catskill, the ascent is rather abrupt, and appears to be about one hundred and sixty miles. Thence the country westward is rather level, until you reach a large well-built town called Red-sandstone, on the eastern skirt of the Rocky Mountains; whence there is a descent by a regular slope to the Pacific Ocean. The country to the left of this slope is marked 'unknown,' whence we are to infer that all the rest is known. There is an exceedingly good fire kept up under the Rocky Mountains, and another under the Atlantic Ocean. These fires occupy about one half of the whole distance, and are evidently undermining the superincumbent formations very rapidly. If the Atlantic Ocean should break through, as the Thames did into the Tunnel, it strikes us that the packets running to Europe would be in great danger. We by no means desire to alarm the public, but we advise the proprietors to look to it, and to consult Mr. Amos Eaton before his second edition appears, when matters may be 'considerable' worse.

We proceed to notice another assertion at page 67, which is announced in capitals.

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'I intend to demonstrate, that the *detritus* of New-Jersey, embracing the marl which contains those remarkable fossil relics, (saurian) is ante-diluvian, or the *genuine tertiary formation*.'

To say nothing of the incorrect manner in which this is expressed, as if ante-diluvian and tertiary were synonymes, the thing is not so, and cannot be demonstrated. Ante-diluvian in a certain sense it may be said to be, but as to the marl containing the remarkable fossil relics he speaks of belonging to the tertiary formation, no one but a person totally ignorant of this great branch of Geology, would have made so unlucky a guess. Had Mr. Eaton possessed the most superficial knowledge of the value of organic characters, and of the extent of the saurian period, he would have spared himself this mortification. He would have known, that a deposit remarkable for saurian remains, and multilocular *testacea*, could not be tertiary; a geologist would have placed it with greater propriety in the green sand formation, to which we have always believed it to belong. How Mr. Vanuxem's very sensible remarks on this subject can have escaped Mr. Eaton, is really surprising; but there is little to be expected from one who has been too deeply engaged in washing the outside of our planet and making fires in the centre, to find time for consulting either books or nature. Whilst we are on this subject, we cannot omit noticing a recent paper by Mr. Eaton at page 334, No. 2, Vol. 17, American Journal of Science, which begins thus.

'I have received letters from several eminent geologists, since you published my geological *prodromus*, all of which express full satisfaction on the subject of my five carboniferous formations, excepting the primitive. The generous sentiments expressed on this subject, especially by Dr. Morton, who is pleased to call it a reformation in geology, with which he seems to be generally pleased, &c. &c.'

Dr. Morton, we suspect, has been indulging himself in a little harmless pleasantry, and will probably be rather amused to find his *generous* propensities so gratefully received. We pass over the strange mistakes about Oolite and Sias, at pages 43 and 48 of the Text-Book, and refer to the heading in large capitals, at page 49.

'History of the creation of organized beings, in reference to the five geological series.'

This history of the creation of organized beings is despatched

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in three pages. It consists of inferences deduced from facts, which Mr. Eaton has borrowed, without comprehending them, from European geological works. At page 51, he says,

'But immediately over the carboniferous state, (coal measures) we find oviparous vertebral animals. I have before me the relics of a *crotalus*, found by Dr. Rose of Montrose, Pennsylvania. Hence we infer, that oviparous vertebral animals were created soon after the bituminous coal and deposits were made.'

The origin of this passage appears to be as follows. Observing in Bakewell, the source of all his scientific *discoveries*, that oviparous vertebral animals are found in the deposits succeeding to the new red sandstone formation, and ignorantly supposing that oviparous reptiles of the present surface would serve his turn as well as the marine oviparous quadrupeds of which Bakewell speaks, he carefully keeps all the saurians out of sight, and with an old piece of an *orthocera* in his hands, pretends that this discovery of oviparous vertebral animals succeeding to the coal formations, is an inference made by himself, from a rattle-snake found in one of the formations of his fourth series. A rattle-snake! This exceeds the Mastodons.

We will not, however, pursue this investigation farther. We regret that a sense of duty to science has compelled us to perform so ungrateful a task; but at a period when a general inclination for the cultivation of natural history is visibly increasing, we cannot shut our eyes to the evil consequences, that must result from the circulation of so much error amongst the ingenuous young men of the country. We have been actuated solely by regard for the interest of science, and should be the last persons who would take pleasure in wantonly exposing Mr. Eaton or any other individual.

ART. X.—*Imprisonment for Debt.*

Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society. Boston, 1830.

The general object of the Prison Discipline Society,—the improvement in the state of prisons in reference to the comfort, and particularly the moral character of their inmates,—is of a nature to command the respect and sympathy of every friend of humanity. The assiduity and success with

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which the Society have labored in this good cause, are apparent from several previous Reports, as well as from the one before us; and we trust that they will be sustained in future, as they have been thus far, by that large and liberal patronage, which alone can enable them to give full scope and effect to their benevolent intentions. Our present purpose, however, is not so much to enlarge upon this branch of the operations of the Society, as to advert to that portion of the Report before us, which is occupied by a statement of facts and opinions on the subject of *Imprisonment for Debt.* This feature in our civil institutions has for some years past been attracting the public attention more and more strongly; and it seems to be now almost universally admitted, that the present system imperiously demands a reform, although there is still much difference of sentiment as to the extent of the evil, and the nature of the remedy. We have not the presumption to suppose, that the hasty suggestions which we may offer will have any tendency to settle this difference; but by bringing to the view of our readers some of the lucid statements and weighty considerations contained in the Report, we may hope to contribute something towards the formation of that enlightened public opinion, which must ultimately decide upon this as upon every other question of general interest. We shall first extract a passage of the Report, which gives some idea of the number of persons who are annually imprisoned for debt, and of the efficacy of this process in enforcing payment.

'Returns have been received from nearly one hundred Prisons in the United States, showing *how many* persons were imprisoned for debt during the year ending December 30, 1829; for what sums they were imprisoned; how much time was lost in Prisons; how many were discharged by the creditor or his attorney; how many paid the debt; how many took the poor debtor's oath; what was the whole amount of debt; what was the whole amount of costs; and who supported the debtor in Prison.

'The letters received from the sheriffs of different counties, and different and distant States, containing this information, merit the particular and grateful acknowledgements of the Society, for the labor bestowed in examining the records of the Prisons, to collect it. Many of the letters also are valuable, inasmuch as they contain an expression of the opinion of practical men, who have had the best opportunities of observation, in regard to the operation of the present laws on the subject of imprisonment for debt.

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'We have also received letters from judges, lawgivers, and philanthropists, expressing their opinion on this subject.

'The following general remarks are supported by the first class of letters, to which we have referred:

'1. *The number of persons imprisoned for debt in the Northern and Middle States is very great.*

'During the year ending December 30, 1829, there were imprisoned for debt in Concord, N. H., 31; in Taunton, Mass., 126; in Worcester, 271; in Boston, 1211; in East Greenwich, R. I., 80; in Newport, R. I., 78; in Pennyan, N. Y., 103; at Courtland Village, 112; in Buffalo, 338; in the city of New York, in 1828, 3,000; in Philadelphia, during 8 months, ending February 25, 1830, 817; in Baltimore, in 1829, 944. As nearly as we can ascertain from the returns which we have received, the number imprisoned for debt annually is, in Massachusetts, 3,000; in New York, 10,000; in Pennsylvania, 7,000; in Maryland, 3,000; and in the other Northern and Middle States, nearly as above in proportion to the population.

'2. *The number of persons imprisoned for debt, compared with the number imprisoned for crime, is very great.*

'In Worcester, Mass., the debtors were to the criminals as 3 to 1; in Rhode Island, as 4 to 1; in Pennyan, N. Y., nearly as 5 to 1; at Courtland Village more than 8 to 1; at Belvidere, N. J., as 5 to 1; at Flemington, N. J., as 6 to 1; in 17 Prisons in the Northern and Middle States, nearly as 5 to 1.

3. '*The number of persons imprisoned for small debts is very great.*

'In Philadelphia alone, the number of persons imprisoned in eight months, ending February 25, 1830, for less than one dollar each, was thirty. In eleven other Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned, during the year ending December 30, 1829, for less than one dollar each, *thirty-two.*

'4. '*The number of persons imprisoned for more than one, and less than five dollars each, is still greater.*

'In thirty Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned, for more than one and less than five dollars each, *five hundred and ninety-five.*

'5. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than five, and less than twenty dollars, is very great.*

'In thirty-two Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned for more than five and less than twenty dollars, two thousand one hundred and eighty-four.

'6. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than twenty, and less than one hundred dollars, is not one third as great as the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.*

'In thirty-two Prisons, from which we have heard, the num-

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ber imprisoned for less than twenty dollars each, was 2841; for more than twenty, and less than $100,—902.

'7. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each is very small, in comparison with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.*

'In fifty-three Prisons, from which we have heard, the whole number imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each, was four hundred and sixteen, or only as one to seven, compared with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.

'8. *The time lost in Prison is very considerable by those who are poorly able to lose it.*

'In fifteen Prisons, from which we have heard, in the Northern and Middle States, the persons imprisoned for debt,

For less than one day, were	269
For more than one, and less than five days, . .	323
For more than five, and less than ten days, . .	203
For more than ten, and less than twenty days, .	154
For more than twenty, and less than thirty days, . .	83
For more than thirty days, ...	431

'Total amount of time lost in fifteen Prisons, nineteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-seven days.

'9. *While so much time is lost in Prison, it is a very fruitless business as a means of compelling payment.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, out of two thousand and fifty-seven persons imprisoned, the records show only two hundred and ninety-four who paid the debt.

'10. *The number of persons discharged by the creditor or his attorney, according to the records, is more than three times as large as the number of those who pay the debt.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, as already stated, two hundred and ninety-four paid the debt, and one thousand and nineteen were discharged by the creditor or his attorney.

'11. *The number of persons discharged by taking the poor debtor's oath, is more than twice as great as the number of those who pay the debt.*

'In the seventeen Prisons above mentioned, two hundred and ninety-four paid the debt, and seven hundred and forty-four took the poor debtor's oath.

'12. *The amount paid, according to the Records, in consequence of imprisonment, is not one half the value of time lost at $1 per day.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, the amount paid, in the year ending December 30, 1829, as nearly as can be ascertained, was seven thousand nine hundred and ninety-two

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dollars; the value of time lost in fifteen Prisons, during the same time, at $1 per day, was nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars.

'13. *This is not only very fruitless, but very expensive business to the creditor.*

'We have reason to believe, that, in most cases, in which persons are discharged from Prison by the creditor or his attorney, or by the poor debtor's oath, the costs are paid by the creditor; and we have already seen, that in seventeen Prisons there were

discharged by the creditor or his attorney, . .	1019
By the poor debtor's oath, ...	744
By paying the debt, ...	294

'We have made the inquiry of a number of the respectable men of our acquaintance, whether they ever imprisoned a man for debt. The general answer has been, Yes; once or twice, and we lost the debt, and paid the costs.

'14. *The operation of the laws, in regard to imprisonment for debt, is very different in the Northern and Southern States.*

'In seventeen Prisons heard from in the Northern States, the number of persons imprisoned during the year ending December 30, 1829, was *two thousand seven hundred and forty-two.*

'In the same number of Prisons in the Southern States, only *thirty-five.*

'15. *There are examples of amelioration and abolition.*

'In Massachusetts, there is a law which forbids the imprisonment of any debtor for less than five dollars. A similar law, in the other Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, in eighteen Prisons, from which we have heard, four hundred and thirty-one persons. The great opposition to this law is said to have come from groceries and grog shops.

'There is a law in New-Hampshire, which forbids the imprisonment of any debtor for less than $13,33. A similar law, in the other Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, in eighteen Prisons, from which we have heard, one thousand four hundred and fifty-four persons.

'There is a law in Massachusetts, which requires the creditor to pay the board of the debtor. This law is said, by several of the jailers, to have diminished the duration of imprisonment for debt about one third.

'A very shrewd and observing jailer, in a Prison where more than one thousand persons are imprisoned annually, remarked, that many cases of imprisonment for small debts would be prevented, if the creditors were obliged to make oath, that the debts were *true debts;* as in South Carolina.

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'*In Kentucky and Ohio, imprisonment for debt is abolished.* A similar law in the Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, as nearly as we can ascertain, about *fifty thousand persons.*

'16. *The laws and public opinion appear to be at variance on the subject of imprisonment for debt.*

'We have already seen, to some extent, what is the operation of the laws. We now give an abstract of the laws of several States, where the evils of imprisonment for debt seem to be greatest. And immediately after the abstract, we shall give what we consider an expression of public opinion.'

The following letter to the Secretary of the Society, from the benevolent individual so generally and so honorably known by the assumed name of *Hamilton*, whose indefatigable exertions for the promotion of every good work have so justly endeared him to his countrymen, gives some further very interesting details on the same subject.

'*Extract from a Letter signed Hamilton, dated Philadelphia, March* 5, 1830.

'The cruel effects, and the suffering resulting from imprisonment for debt, and its almost universal inefficacy in producing satisfaction of the claims of the creditor, have for a long time attracted public attention, and been depicted in vivid colors by different writers, in the hope of removing the evil. But improvements of every kind, however plain and palpable, travel at a snail's pace, when they have to encounter inveterate prejudice. It has often happened that it required half a century to remove a crying evil, about which no two enlightened men could for a moment differ in opinion; and cases are by no means rare, in which half a century has been found inadequate for the purpose. The abuses of the court of Chancery in Great Britain, and its ruinous delays of justice, almost equivalent to a denial, are strongly in point.

'The evil of imprisonment for debt has been somewhat mitigated in some of the States; but in others it remains in all its frightful enormity. In this State, no man, who can give adequate security for his appearance at the insolvent court, need go to jail. Nevertheless, hundreds are sent to jail for want of security. In Massachusetts, a law is in force, how long I cannot tell, which prohibits imprisonment for debts under five dollars.

'A most astounding and revolting fact has been just presented to the public by the Boston Prison Discipline Society, (one of the most philanthropic and beneficent societies in the country,)

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respecting the state of imprisonment for debt in the city of New-York. It appears,

'On the authority of Mr. Rowen, keeper of the debtor's apartment in that city, that the number of cases of imprisonment [for debt] during the year 1828, was 1085! The debts together amounted to $25,409; the damages to $362,076! the amount paid in jail, $295! which bears to the amount of actual debt, the proportion of 1 to 86! and to the amount of debts and damages, of 1 to 1313!—*Fourth Report, page* 17.

'Probably, among the variety of abuses attendant on, and inseparable from, civil society, a more monstrous or shocking fact cannot be produced, or one more at variance with our boasted civilization.

'The facts in this connexion in our city are not quite so revolting; but they are sufficiently so to call for a radical remedy. But a short law of twenty lines, abolishing imprisonment for debts under five dollars, which might be passed in three days, would remove some of the most crying enormities of our present system.

'The number of persons imprisoned in the debtor's apartment in this city, from June 6, 1829, until February 24, 1830, was 817, of whom there were

30 whose debts were below 1 dollar.
233 above 1 and below 5 dollars.
174 above 5 and below 10 dollars.
140 above 10 and below 20 dollars.
142 above 20 and below 100 dollars.
98 above 100 dollars.

817

'Of 252 of these unfortunate people, the debts were $663 and the costs $448.

'Of 64, the debts were $58 and the costs $120!

'That this state of things calls for a remedy, will not be questioned. The Massachusetts law is a remedy, plain, simple, and effectual, as to the most grievous portion of the evil; and it is to be hoped it will be applied without delay.

'It is highly probable that such a law would considerably diminish the poor rates. The 263 persons above referred to, whose debts are below five dollars, are of the class who depend wholly for their own support, and that of their families, on their labor. Their extreme poverty precludes the idea of their being able to make any provision for their families during their imprisonment; and the consequence is, that that support, in the interim, devolves on the overseers of the poor.'

Such are the nature and extent of the evil. As respects

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the remedy that ought to be applied, we are presented in the Report with a number of opinions of great authority. The Secretary of the Society addressed a circular letter to several gentlemen of distinction, requesting a communication of their views on important points connected with this subject, and received from some of them answers of a very interesting character, which are here presented. The most important of these have been reprinted in other quarters, but we nevertheless deem it expedient to quote them, in order that while the feelings of the community are agitated by the discussion of the question, the views that are entertained of it by the ablest men, and the most competent judges, may be kept as much as possible before the public, as a guard against extravagance and error. The opinion of Mr. Webster on any subject connected with his professional pursuits, probably carries with it, at present, as much weight as that of any person of his age in the country. His letter is as follows;

'*Letter from Hon. Daniel Webster, dated Washington, May 2, 1830.*

'Sir—I have received your letter of the 19th of April, asking my opinion upon several questions, all relative to the subject of imprisonment for debt. I am quite willing to express my general opinions on that interesting subject, although they are not so matured as to be entitled to influence other men's judgments. The existing laws, I think, call loudly for revision and amendment. Your first four questions seek to know what I think of imprisonment for small sums. I am decidedly against it; I would carry the exemption to debts of thirty or forty dollars, at least. Individual instances of evil or hardship might, I am aware, follow from such a change; but I am persuaded the general result would be favorable, in a high degree, to industry, sobriety, and good morals, as well as to personal liberty.

'You ask, in the next place, what I think of imprisonment for debt in any case where there is no evidence of fraud. Certainly I am of opinion that there should be no imprisonment for debt, where it appears that no fraud has been practised, or intended, either in contracting the debt, or in omitting to pay it. But, then, it seems to me, that, when a man does not fulfil a lawful promise, he ought to show his inability, and to show also that his own conduct has been fair and honest. He ought not to be allowed merely *to say* he cannot pay, and then to call on the creditor to *prove* that his inability is pretended or fraudulent. He ought to show why he does not and cannot fulfil his contract, and to give reasonable evidence that he has not acted fraudulently: and, this

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being done, his person ought to be held no longer. In the first place, the creditor is entitled to the oath of his debtor; and, in the next place, to satisfactory explanation of any suspicious circumstances.

'There are two sorts of fraud, either of which, when proved, ought to prevent a liberation of the person, viz: fraud in contracting the debt, and fraud in concealing, or making way with, the means of payment. And the usual provisions of the bankrupt act ought to be added, that no one should be discharged, who is proved to have lost money in any species of gaming; and I should include, in this class, *all adventurers in lotteries.* Having tendered his own oath, and made just explanation of any circumstances of suspicion, if there be such, and not having lost money by gaming, the debtor ought to be discharged at once; which answers another of your questions; for the detention of thirty days, before the oath can be taken, appears to me wholly useless.

'You are pleased to ask, whether, in my judgment, Christians can, with a good conscience, imprison, either other Christians or infidels. He would be very little of a Christian, I think, who should make a difference, in such a case, and be willing to use a degree of severity towards Jew or Greek, which he would not use towards one of his own faith. Whether conscientious men can imprison any body for debt, whom they do not believe dishonest or fraudulent, is a question which every man, while the law allows such imprisonment, must decide for himself. In answer to your inquiry, whether I have found it necessary to use such coercion, in regard to debts of my own, I have to say, that I never imprisoned any man for my own debt, under any circumstances; nor have I, in five and twenty years' professional practice, ever recommended it to others, except in cases where there was manifest proof, or violent and unexplained suspicion, of intentional fraud.

'Imprisonment for debt, my dear sir, as it is now practised, is, in my judgment, a great evil; and, it seems to me, an effectual remedy for the larger part of the evil is obvious. Nineteen twentieths of the whole of it would be relieved, in my opinion, if imprisonment for *small debts* were to be abolished. That object I believe to be attainable; and to its attainment, I think, the main attention of those who take an interest in the subject should be directed. Small credits are often given, on the confidence of being able to collect the debt by the terrors of the jail; great ones seldom or never.

'Three simple provisions would accomplish all, in my opinion, that may be considered as absolutely required to a just state of the law, respecting imprisonment for debt in Massachusetts.

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'1. That no imprisonment should be allowed, when the debts, exclusive of costs, did not amount to thirty dollars.

'2. That there should be no necessity of imprisonment for thirty days, as preliminary to taking the poor debtor's oath; nor any longer detention than such as is necessary to give parties notice and time to prepare for examination; and that a convenient number of magistrates, in every county, should, for the purpose of administering the oaths, be appointed by the government; and that such magistrates should be clothed with such further powers as might be thought expedient, in order to enable them to make a thorough investigation of the fairness or fraud of the debtor's conduct.

'3. That in cases where the debtor had been discharged, if the creditor would make oath to newly discovered evidence, proving original fraud, or, to his belief, that the debtor had subsequently received property, and concealed or withheld the same from his creditors, it should be competent to such creditor to have investigation of such charge, and, if made out, to have execution against the person, and if not made out, that the creditor should pay the cost of the proceeding.

'Other provisions might doubtless be useful; but if these three alone could be obtained, they would, in a great measure, clear the jails of debtors, and give general satisfaction, I have no doubt, to creditors.

'I ought to add, that the imprisonment of females in the common jails, for mere debt, is a barbarism which ought not to be tolerated. Instances of such imprisonment, though rare, do yet sometimes occur, under circumstances that shock every humane mind. In this respect, the law ought, in my judgment, to be altogether reformed.'

The opinion of Dr. Channing—an authority in no way inferior to the one just cited—is given more briefly, but with equal or greater point, in a passage of his late Election Sermon.

'*Extract from Dr. Channing's Election Sermon.*

'I am shocked at the imprisonment of the honest debtor, and the legislation, which allows the creditor to play the tyrant over an innocent man, would disgrace, I think, a barbarous age. I am not less shocked by the impunity with which criminal insolvents continually escape, and by the lenity of the community towards those transgressors of its most essential laws.'

The following letter is from the Hon. Charles Jackson, whose early eminence at the bar was the admiration of his contemporaries, and whose early retirement from the bench, was the

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severest loss, which the judiciary department of this Commonwealth has sustained since the death of Parsons.

'*Extract of a Letter from Hon. Charles Jackson, dated Boston, May* 18, 1830.

'Dear Sir—The only just or reasonable motive for imprisoning a debtor seems to be to compel him to apply his property to the payment of his debts. If, therefore, he is about to abscond, and to remove his effects beyond the reach of his creditors, or if he fraudulently secretes or withdraws them, so that they cannot be taken by legal process, the creditor, I think, ought to have the power to arrest him, and to prevent him, if possible, from enjoying at ease, or spending in luxury, what he has thus unjustly acquired. But when he is unable to pay the debt, and has no property to be surrendered to his creditor, it is wholly useless as well as oppressive, to prolong his imprisonment. Such a measure, if considered as a punishment to the debtor, is very unequal and unjust, as it is inflicted without any regard to the magnitude of the debt, and without any distinction between a fraudulent debtor and one who is only unfortunate. I think, therefore, that imprisonment for debt ought never to be allowed, except in cases which I consider fraudulent; that is, when the debtor fraudulently or obstinately secretes or withholds his property. But as it is not easy to ascertain beforehand what cases fall within this description, it may be necessary to authorize the arrest of the debtor, making provision, at the same time, for an immediate discharge of his person, upon his surrendering all his property that is liable to attachment.

'If a proper and convenient provision of this kind could be made, it would perhaps remove the principal objections to the existing laws; but so long as imprisonment for debt on mesne process, and on execution, is conducted as it now is, I am strongly of opinion, that it ought never to be allowed for small debts, so as to reach the poorer class of debtors. It would require more practical knowledge than I possess on this subject, to fix the amount of debt for which it ought to be allowed; but I should be glad to find, that it could be limited to fifty dollars. When a man whose living depends on his manual labor, is imprisoned for a debt which he is unable to pay, there is a loss to the community, as well as to the debtor himself, of the produce of the labor which he might have performed; and the creditor's chance of receiving payment is of course diminished. If a debtor is unable to pay ten dollars, it seems to be the height of absurdity, as well as cruelty, to take him from his business, and to condemn him to idleness for a time long enough to have earned twenty dollars.

'There is, perhaps, one advantage in allowing imprisonment for

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small debts; which is, that it tends to deter the poor from contracting debts; and so far as it produces that effect, I believe that it is highly useful. But we daily see, that this is not an effectual remedy, and that many of that class will get credit where they can, though upon terms most oppressive to themselves. If these persons were wholly exempted from arrest and imprisonment, they would find it much more difficult to get credit than they now do. This would be beneficial, not only to themselves, but also to the class of creditors in general; as these latter, by giving less credit, would probably, on the whole, lose less than they do under the existing laws.

'As to the duration of imprisonment, if allowed at all, I should suppose thirty days much more than would be commonly necessary. All that must be required is time enough for the debtor to make out a statement of his property, and to surrender or convey it to the person designated in the law, and to undergo an examination, on oath, as to the truth of that statement. I see no objection to allowing a discharge, upon these terms, from arrest on mesne process, as well as on execution. It would further tend to prevent abuses in this respect, if arrest on mesne process were allowed for debt only, or for injuries to property, that are susceptible, in some degree, of a precise estimation; to the exclusion of all cases of mere personal wrongs, and of claims for unliquidated and uncertain debts.

'If imprisonment for debt is, as I think it is, useless, when used merely to compel the surrender of property, which ought to be applied to discharge the debt, it follows, that, in other cases, a Christian cannot, with a good conscience, make use of this process either against a fellow Christian or an infidel.'

We add the letter of Mr. Edward Everett, upon the character of which we are precluded by obvious considerations, from expressing an opinion.

'*Extract of a Letter from Hon. Edward Everett, dated Charlestown, Mass., 4th. Sept.*, 1830.

'Dear Sir—I have duly received your letter, requesting my opinion on several subjects connected with imprisonment for debt. I must leave it to those better acquainted with the practical effect of the existing laws, to make a discrimination between the operation of these laws, in reference to the *different sums* you have named. My view of the subject requires no such discrimination. But were I obliged to give a specific answer to your first question, "What do you think of imprisonment for debt for sums less than one dollar?" I should say, I think it a disgrace to the community where it is tolerated; and that a person, who would

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deprive a fellow creature of his liberty for inability to pay that sum, ought himself to be sent to the State's Prison, till he had learned humanity, or rather to the Insane Hospital, till he was restored to reason.

'But I ought to recollect that even such imprisonment has been authorized by the laws of our ancient Commonwealth, and is now authorized by the laws and daily practice of some of the sister States; and that individuals are not justly chargeable with the iniquity of a system established by the law of the land, and sanctioned by custom. It is one of the worst effects of bad laws, that they corrupt public sentiment.

'It is said to have been remarked, by the venerable Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, on occasion of the late trial at Salem, that it was to be regretted that the common law had not, by the statute of 1 Ann, been brought a little nearer to common sense, in reference to the trial of accessaries, before the conviction of a principal. I fear there is too great reason to say, that we live under a system of laws, touching the relations of debtor and creditor, utterly at war, not only with common sense, but common humanity.

'Although crime may be connected with insolvency, yet insolvency is not of itself a crime. Where fraud has been committed, let that fraud be proceeded against under known laws, and punished, I care not how severely, so the bounds of reason and humanity are not passed. But inability to pay one's debts is itself no proof of crime. It may, and often does, arise from the act of God, and misfortune in all its forms. A man may become insolvent in consequence of sickness, shipwreck, a fire, a bad season, political changes affecting trade at home and abroad; or, being wholly prosperous in his own business, he may be involved in the ruin of his debtor. In the eye of the law of Massachusetts, a man's inability to meet his obligations, produced in any of these ways, is a crime punishable by imprisonment.

'Suppose a Legislature were to pass a law, that whoever should have a ship cast away, or a ware-house burnt down, should be imprisoned thirty days. What would be thought of their humanity? what of their sanity? Such, however, in substance, is the law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The absurdity of such a system is as glaring as its cruelty.

'It is objectionable on another ground. To deprive a citizen of liberty is one of the highest inflictions of penal justice. Next to capital punishment, it is the most infamous punishment known to our law. The power of wielding this formidable weapon ought to be lodged exclusively in the hands of the magistrate. Grave public reasons should alone decide when it should be employed.

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The present law submits to the discretion, the caprice, and the passions of the creditor, whether he will or will not subject a citizen to this odious infliction of penal justice. There are men in the community who make a livelihood from buying up bad debts. The State puts its sheriffs, and constables, and the keys of its Prisons, under their control, and they daily wield their dreadful power, from motives of interest; sometimes without the possibility of deriving benefit; but more frequently with a studied and tantalizing choice of time and circumstances, such as to give to personal duress the character and effects of torture. Torture, in fact, it is; and many persons, no doubt, would rather lose the joint of a finger, or submit to a few turns of a thumb-screw in private, than be shut up in the wards of a jail.

'Fortunately for the credit of the country at large, though to the discredit of Massachusetts, our law on this subject is behind the legislation of the majority of the States. Very few States in the Union deem so lightly of the value of the blessings which they secure to their citizens, as to allow an individual to deprive his neighbor of his liberty, for *thirty days*, for a debt of five dollars.

'When the enormity and scandal of such legislation are considered, we can only wonder that it can subsist for a day in a community where the people make the laws, especially when we inquire what class of society is benefited by them. Creditors are not greatly benefited, as is notorious from the facts stated in the last Report of the Prison Discipline Society. In a Report made to a meeting of gentlemen assembled in Boston, a year or two since, to consider this subject, it is stated that "within the last twenty years, the COSTS that have accrued in suits against insolvents, have amounted to more than one million of dollars."

'It surely cannot be the interest or the wish of the mass of the people to lay such a tax for the purpose of filling the pockets of those benefited by the prosecution of petty debts.

'Considered in connexion with the public good, and the cause of civil liberty, the facts disclosed in the last Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society present matter of reflection painfully important. Seventy-five thousand freemen, in these United States, it is estimated, are annually subjected, under the existing laws, to the infamous punishment of a Prison! And the costs and damages exceed, in many cases, the amount of the debts for which they are imprisoned!

'There are several governments called *despotic*, where no such outrage on reason and humanity is tolerated. That it is submitted to in this community, is a proof how much practical oppression a people will endure, who enjoy, in theory, the power of providing a remedy. The acts of the British government, which

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drove our fathers to arms, were infinitely less grievous than the laws in question. Nor is there any question of national or party politics, that now excites the sensibility of the people of the United States, which so much concerns them as this subject, in regard to which so great an apathy prevails.

'Harsh, however, as the expression may sound, if the people, possessing the means of a perfect and instant remedy in their hands, will not apply it, they ought to suffer. Were it not that the unfortunate class who suffer most—the poor and friendless—are unable effectually to make their wishes felt, and their rights respected, nothing would need to be said. A fortnight's time, devoted to the subject by the General Court, would be amply sufficient to enact a statute, which would bring the law nearer to humanity and reason; and, if the people wish for such a statute, it is very easy to make their wish known and respected.

'Wishing entire success to all judicious exertions to effect this end, I remain, &c.'

In the suggestions made in these letters, of the nature of the remedy to be applied to this great and acknowledged evil, the prevailing idea seems to be that of drawing a line of distinction between debts of different classes, and abolishing imprisonment for those of small amount. This plan has already been acted upon to a certain extent in several of the States. In this Commonwealth, and in Maine, imprisonment is not allowed for a debt under five dollars. Mr. Webster proposes, that the limit should be enlarged to thirty, and provision is made to this effect in a bill reported in the Senate of this State during the late session of the General Court, but which had not been acted upon when this article was written. In Maryland, imprisonment was abolished for debts under thirty dollars, by an act passed at the late session of the Legislature of that State. In New Hampshire, the limit is fixed at thirteen dollars, thirty-three cents. Kentucky and Ohio are the only States in which the practice has been abolished entirely. The adoption of this measure in those States, is probably to be attributed, in a great degree, to the unwearied exertions of Colonel R. M. Johnson, who has done more to awaken the public attention to this crying evil, than any other person in the country. We feel the more pleasure in doing justice to his benevolent intentions in this respect, inasmuch as we have had occasion, in a preceding number, to question the correctness of his, no doubt, equally honest views, upon another subject of considerable importance.

The distinction between large and small debts, to which we

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have alluded, as the basis of the new regulations, which have been adopted in this and some other States, is obviously untenable in principle. Whether imprisonment for debt be regarded as a privilege belonging to the creditor, or as an inconvenience to be suffered by the debtor, there is plainly in theory no good reason to be given, why it should attach to one class of debts rather than another. We may go farther, and say with safety, that a distinction of this kind is not only not founded in any correct principle, but is actually contrary to natural justice. The only motive for allowing imprisonment for debt at all, must be the supposed advantage resulting to the creditor, from this mode of enforcing payment of his debt. But the distinction in question gives this advantage to a person who has lent a large sum of money, and takes it away from one who has lent a small one. In other words, it confers upon the wealthy, who want it least, a privilege which is refused to the poor.

The distinction is therefore in theory untenable, and even unjust, but it is nevertheless true, that the adoption of it may produce a great deal of practical good; and if, as appears to be generally supposed, a reform predicated on this principle is the only one which the public feeling would admit in this part of the country, we should cheerfully give it our feeble support. The number of small debts is of course much greater than that of large ones, and of the cases of actual imprisonment, a very great proportion are for debts of trifling amount. This point is satisfactorily established in the above extract from the Report before us, where it is stated on authority, that 'the number of persons imprisoned for more than twenty and less than one hundred dollars, is not one third as great as the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars;' and that 'the number of persons imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each, is very small in comparison with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.' This being the case, the abolition of imprisonment for small debts, is, in other words, an abolition of imprisonment for debt in by far the greater number of cases, that actually occur in practice. It is obvious, therefore, that however untenable, or even unjust, may be the distinction in theory, the practical relief afforded by its adoption may be very considerable.

We should, therefore, as we have just remarked, very cheerfully concur in recommending it to the public, if it be in fact

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impracticable to obtain a reform on a more consistent plan. But we are free to confess, that we can see no reason why the abolition of imprisonment for debt in all cases, where there is no fraud, should be a less popular measure than the abolition of imprisonment for small debts. We conceive on the contrary, that it ought to be in principle, and of course must be in fact,—whenever the subject shall be well understood,—a more popular one. The distinction, as we have shown already, is in favor of the rich and against the poor. It is therefore essentially unpopular. On the other hand, the rich, in whose favor the line is professedly drawn, can derive no practical benefit from the privilege, at least where the poor debtor's oath operates as a complete discharge of the debt. No person would attempt to enforce a large debt by a process, which would give the debtor, by a little sacrifice of personal comfort, the opportunity of getting rid of it entirely. We are at a loss to imagine in what portion of the community this distinction between large and small debts is to find the great favor, which it is supposed to possess. The rich, who are ostensibly benefited by it, have really no motive for wishing to retain it, and the poor, against whom it operates, cannot be supposed to desire its establishment. It is advantageous to no one, and if not practically oppressive, is at least entirely nugatory. We are, therefore, of opinion, that a proposal to abolish imprisonment for debt in all cases, would be more likely to gain favor in our legislative bodies and with the people at large, than the half-way measures, to which we have alluded. There are, doubtless, many persons who would object to any measure of this description, although the number is, we believe, already very small, and rapidly diminishing from day to day; but these, if they have any correct ideas on the subject, must object equally to a partial and a total abolition; while all who wish for any reform in this respect, ought, as far as any motive of principle or interest is concerned, to desire that it may be complete. Even the collecting lawyers, the only persons who have any real interest in sustaining the practice of imprisonment for debt, have no motive for preferring a partial to a total abolition, for if, as we have already remarked, the power of imprisoning for large debts is and must be in its nature merely nominal, the retaining of it would of course give the lawyers no additional business.

On the view which we take of the subject, no distinction

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should be made, excepting between the cases which are, and are not, tainted with fraud. Imprisonment for debt should be wholly abolished. The laws already in force against the obtaining and retaining of property under false pretences, should be revised in such a way as to accommodate them better to the new state of things, which would result from such a measure. The great defect in this part of our jurisprudence now, is, that although the fraudulent debtor, or, to use a more appropriate term, the swindler, may be punished, the person whom he has defrauded has no means of recovering his money. After suffering the penalties which the law attaches to his offence, the offender may find himself at large with the fruits of his iniquity still in his possession. As a remedy for this evil, it would be necessary, in cases where fraud could be proved, to provide, that the body should be taken and held as a pledge for the forthcoming property. Under these circumstances many offenders would doubtless escape, because there are many cases where it may be next to impossible to prove a fraud, whatever certainty there may be of its existence; but this result is unavoidable under any system of legislation, and would not occur more frequently, if imprisonment for debt were entirely abolished, than it does now.

It is often objected, and by very discreet and judicious persons, that the abolition of imprisonment for debt, whether partial or total, would operate unfavorably by increasing the difficulty of obtaining credit. This might be to a certain extent a temporary inconvenience, but would prove in the end a real benefit. The universal prevalence of the credit system in this country is undoubtedly one of the worst features in the state of our society, and any change, whether of laws or manners, which would tend to counteract this system, would cut off a very fruitful source of poverty and wretchedness.

It is not, however, our present intention to treat this subject in great detail; but rather to submit for the consideration of our readers, the facts and opinions, which we have already quoted from this Report. As a practical evil affecting the personal comfort of the mass of the people, imprisonment for debt is probably more oppressive, than any of the positive inflictions of the worst administered governments. Where, for example, the system of *lettres de cachet* in France interfered with the happiness of one person, imprisonment for debt interferes, and to an equal extent, with that of ten, we might perhaps say with

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safety, a hundred. It appears to us impossible, that it can ultimately be maintained under the growing intelligence and liberality of the times, and we confidently trust, that the present generation will not readily yield to their successors the honor of erasing this remnant of barbarism from the civil code of the country.

ART. XI.—*The Water-Witch.*

The Water-Witch, or the Skimmer of the Seas. A Tale, by the AUTHOR of the Pilot, Red Rover, &c. In two volumes. Philadelphia, Carey & Lea, 1831. 12mo.

Since we last called the attention of our readers to the popular romances of our countryman, Mr. Cooper, they have been presented to the world with a rapidity, which scarcely allows us to examine one, before we receive intelligence of the arrival of its successor. So far as success can be received as an evidence of merit, their superiority must be considered as beyond question; the seal of public approbation having been set by acclamation upon some of them, and a liberal share of praise accorded to all. They have been translated into various languages, and read with as much avidity on the banks of the Danube, as by the dwellers amid the forests, and by the rivers of our western world; nor is it improbable, that future travellers will find them, as Mr. Walsh did those of Sir Walter Scott, beyond the farthest boundaries of the vast German empire. This, as Goldsmith remarked of a somewhat different testimonial, this is fame; and it cannot be denied, that the writer, whose works become the companions of the aged, and the delight of the young, in regions wider and more remote than the ambition of the most relentless conqueror ever aspired to subdue, may console himself for all the censure or reluctant praise of critics; as the great philosopher of Athens was compensated by the veneration of his fellow-citizens, for the strictness of the conjugal discipline which he endured at home. Still, though we are far from denying that success is in many cases, a fair test of excellence, it would not be safe to consider it as a conclusive proof of merit of the very highest order. It would probably be found on inquiry, that there are few romances of which a larger number of copies have been, and continue to be sold, than the Scottish Chiefs;

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which, after the strange enthusiasm which attended its first appearance had subsided, was not estimated very highly by those who wish to see faithful representations of character and manners, together with a tolerable adherence to correct taste. The merit of Mr. Cooper, however, is of a very different description; his success has also been undiminished and uniform, and even greater, if we are correctly informed, abroad, than in his own country. We wish to avail ourselves of the opportunity presented by the publication of his last work, to offer a few general remarks upon the causes of his success, and upon the rank to which he is entitled among the masters of romantic narrative; and we are the more inclined to do this, because some have appeared to believe, that there is a prevailing disposition to withhold the commendation, which is justly due to him. There is no doubt, that very various opinions are entertained by different persons in regard to the precise degree of his merit; while the vast circulation and liberal reception of his writings forbid us to believe in the existence of any thing like prejudice, or a disposition to undervalue them. These differences of opinion, in regard to works of imagination, are very natural, and imply no reproach upon the writers; they merely prove that different readers are captivated by the exhibition of different qualities. Some delight in brilliant delineations of natural scenery, while others are to be satisfied only by a series of rapid and bustling incidents; and there are many more, who consider no merit equal to that of a discriminating and powerful description of character. The union of these qualities, each in its highest degree, might constitute what in a novelist would be entitled to the name of perfection; but such a combination is too rare, to render it a just subject of complaint against a writer, that he fails to unite them all. Yet nothing is more certain, than that the want of equal excellence in all, will induce some readers to consider him as wanting in every thing that constitutes real merit, while others will pronounce him perfect, because he excels in the display of the particular one, which they look upon as most essential.

It is but fair to notice one circumstance, which has probably affected in some degree the judgments which many have formed in regard to the merit of Mr. Cooper. He was unfortunate in the period at which he first presented himself to the public view. It was at the time, when the whole sphere was light with the brilliancy of an orb of unequalled splendor, that he

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first rose above the horizon; and who could wonder that his lustre, however unborrowed and independent it might be, should be overpowered by the excessive brightness of the great central luminary? We have called this a misfortune; and to a writer, even of very superior merit, it certainly is so; because the unusual excellence of him, who engrosses most of the public attention, has established an unusual standard, which those who follow in his footsteps are required to equal. The same lot has fallen to others in other times. The surpassing power of Shakspeare has thrown the other great dramatists of his day so effectually into shade, that many look with a sort of wonder upon the labors of those commentators, who have lately dragged them from their obscurity; as if the task were as unprofitable, as the attempt of the Antiquary to elevate the 'bodle' which he purchased of the travelling packman, into the unmerited dignity of a Roman coin. Many other examples might be found in that most remarkable and least understood of all history, the history of literature. They who would in one age have been leaders, are in another brought in subjection to the influence of some more powerful mind; as the military talent of modern times, vast as it was, has been lost and forgotten in the superiority of that of Napoleon.

There is commonly a strong disposition among men of inferior talent, to imitate what they do not hope to equal. They do this, not because they admire the object of their imitation; but because the public voice is loud in its praise, and seems to give assurance of success to those, who follow in the same approved and beaten track; and they are content to believe, that a tolerable degree of external resemblance will atone for the want of intellectual equality. It has been sometimes asserted, but in our opinion, with great injustice, that Mr. Cooper ought to be enrolled among the servile herd, as the imitator of Scott. It is not improbable, that, had Waverley never appeared, he might not have devoted himself to this department of literature. He might have been conscious, that the preparation of such romances as were fashionable before that period, was a task wholly unsuited to his powers; he might have submitted to a necessity, against which he could hardly hope to struggle with success; he might have been prevented from attempting to excel, by the persuasion, that no individual talent could give a new direction to the public taste. Indeed, to effect this change, required a power like that which the ancients ascribed

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to the monarch of the winds. It is an enterprise in which success is rarely, and in general, very slowly obtained; and in which the want of it is as fatal, as the unsuccessful attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. The writers of the present day are not so ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, as to be very anxious to encounter this hazard; the principle which leads to an attempt to reform the prevailing taste, is very different from that, which animates reformers of religious sentiment. It was only after long deliberation, that Scott, a man in the full maturity of his powers, and crowned with all the honors which popular admiration could possibly bestow, ventured to offer his own romances to the public view. He looked upon the experiment as doubtful, and upon the chances of failure as much the more numerous; the advice of a single friend induced him to abandon the undertaking for years; and when his resolution was at last taken, it was so executed, that the reproach of failure should not rest upon a name, which men had hitherto known only to honor. Here was no want of confidence in his own powers; but simply a persuasion, that the task of guiding the popular taste might be beyond the ability of any single mind. It is no injustice to Mr. Cooper to doubt, whether he would have been the first to venture into a perilous and untrodden path; or that, finding that others had gone before with glory and success, he was content to follow. But it would be unjust to believe, that he followed for the purpose of imitation merely. It would be as fair to imagine, that the voyager who doubles the Cape of Good Hope by a course, which he might not have had enterprise enough to discover, must of necessity pursue precisely the same track, or the same commercial objects with the adventurous mariner, whose sail was first spread upon that unknown ocean. So far from regarding Mr. Cooper as an imitator, we believe, that he imitates Scott only, in his adherence to truth and nature; and we wish that such imitation were more common than it is. We must look elsewhere for the secret of his success; and with the purpose of explaining our own impressions as to its cause, we will offer a few remarks upon the qualifications of the novelist in general.

Power of description is as essential to the writer of romance, as that of delineation to the painter; both may be exhibited to a certain extent by inferior minds, but excellence in either is the sure indication of genius. A Chinese artist might draw the mere outlines of the human face with as much precision as

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one of our best portrait painters; but the effect of his representation would be wholly lost, because he would consider this correctness of outline as the highest effort of art. All that alternation of light and shade, which make the image appear as if starting from the canvass,—all the rich and beautiful coloring, which invests it with truth and reality,—all that expression, which is the informing soul of the picture, as it is of the living countenance,—would be neglected or forgotten. It is the neglect or observance of these requisites, or rather the degree, in which they are neglected or observed, which constitutes the difference between artists of a high, and those of an inferior order. In like manner, the novelist or poet might undertake to describe some grand and beautiful scene in nature; he might give, with geometrical exactness, the relative magnitude and distance of every object which attracts the eye, and thus produce a plan, which would do honor to a topographical engineer; while another, by a bold and comprehensive survey of some of the prominent features of the landscape, will set it at once before us in all its rich and varied beauty, as it bursts upon the view, when illuminated with the clear brilliancy of our own autumnal sky. All that the mathematician in the Persian Letters remembered of the picturesque beauty of a country-seat which he had visited, was the length and breadth of the mansion. This, however, is but a limited view of what is comprehended in the term description. It includes action as well as repose; and in addition to this, it extends to the effect of human agency, in every mode of its exhibition; now converting the forest into the abode of civilization and domestic happiness, or directing the movements of the vast structure, that seems animated with intelligence as it braves the elements in its ocean-path, and now pursuing the humble toils, that make up the business of daily life. In this power of description, we consider Mr. Cooper's excellence as of the very highest order. There are many instances, which crowd upon the recollection; but they are probably familiar to most of our readers; and we shall have occasion presently to refer to some, when we allude to other qualities, for which he is distinguished.

There is another qualification of the novelist, which is yet more rarely found. The talent, which invests the landscape with life and beauty, may be inadequate to the more arduous task of penetrating the dark mysteries of the heart, of understanding those changes of repose and passion, which roll over

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it as the winds and calm succeed each other on the sea, whose causes the philosopher may perhaps discover, but whose coming no one can foretell. Study alone cannot give this power; though it may be improved and perfected by study and observation. It is not always the attribute of genius, which may exist without it; but it cannot itself exist without genius. Every man knows, how proverbially ignorant are solitary students of human nature; while men of the world, without any superior pretensions to talent, often possess this knowledge in a remarkable degree; and the study and habit of observation to which we have alluded, must have for their object what Pope has called the 'proper study of mankind,' and must be acquired in society and the world. In the physical world, similar causes are followed by similar effects, and the operation of disturbing forces may, in general, be calculated; but in the moral world, the case is widely different. The effects there produced by similar causes, vary with every variety of temperament and character. In some, the exhibition of passion is as furious as the mountain-torrent; while in others, its approaches are as calm and as still as those of the tropical hurricane. Inferior writers of tragedy are apt to suppose, that the language of deep and burning emotion is always turbulent and loud; but the great master of the English drama has connected this expression of it with the helpless imbecility of poor Lear. No outward sign betrays the deep, unrelenting, and almost unearthly revenge of Iago. We know of nothing in Lord Byron's works that displays more forcibly his acquaintance with the heart, than the passage in Don Juan, in which he represents the return of the old pirate to his home;—not with reproaches, not with the flush of anger on his brow,—but with the cold tranquillity, which would befit the avenger of another's wrongs. These, however, are the fiercest and most overwhelming passions; but even these are not more difficult to portray, than the less eventful ones, which so often ruffle the smooth surface of ordinary life, or the numberless motives which influence man's wayward actions. It is the power of illustrating the operation of these passions upon the conduct, and of divining these motives, not as the world is apt to do, by ascertaining the worst, and charitably supposing them to be the real ones, which is the chief glory of the novel-writer and the dramatist. Man's nature in our day is the same as it has been in ages past; the revolutions of opinion have little influence

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upon the heart. Some writers appear to have intuitively possessed this power; while many others, conscious of their deficiency in this respect, have substituted for it the faculty of describing external manners, and peculiarities of thought and feeling. These are undoubtedly modified, and sometimes wholly changed by the alterations which are made by time in the character of society; and the faculty of perceiving and delineating them is by no means an unimportant one; but it is the result of observation, rather than of genius; and though sometimes substituted and mistaken for the other, is in its nature inferior. It is the province of comedy to describe the peculiarities of certain classes of individuals, and the varieties of manner among the people of different countries, which compose what we call national character; for it will be readily perceived, that the term character, when applied to communities, has not precisely the same meaning that it bears in its application to individuals. The French have few translations of English comedy, and it would be impossible to introduce one of Moliere's comedies, literally translated, with effect upon the English stage. The last experiment has been frequently tried, first by Dryden, and subsequently by Foote; but we do not hear of the representation of any of them at the present day; nor do we find, that the English comic writers are held in any great respect abroad. As to the higher order of English tragedies, the case is different. The representation of them might perhaps fail to please a French audience, because they are written in defiance of certain rules, which such an audience have been in the habit of regarding as essential; but the superiority of Shakspeare is as freely admitted on the Continent now, as it has always been in his own country. We may perhaps best illustrate our idea of the two faculties of which we have spoken, by pointing to Richardson and Smollett, as exhibiting favorable examples of each. One aims at the delineation of manners; the other of the heart. Both attract the reader; because both these qualities aid in constituting the truth of the resemblance, as we determine that of a portrait partly by the costume, and partly by the expression of the features. Miss Edgeworth's descriptions of certain peculiarities of Irish character, and of particular modes of society, are universally attractive, because they are evidently the result of her own keen and delicate observation; but when she shoots beyond the limits of her own peculiar sphere, and endeavors,

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by the light of imagination, to find her way through the labyrinths of diplomacy, or the catacombs of the law, or when she aims at giving truth and reality to her fictions by her knowledge of human nature only, her success is not so obvious. The great defect of the throng of novelists, who flourished at the beginning of this century, was their want of capacity to understand character, and of observation to catch the fleeting shades of manners. Instead of attempting to portray either, they substituted sentiment for the one, and an odd sort of masquerade for the other; and after peopling an imaginary world with beings of their own creation, exhibited the panorama to the public, who gazed upon it with the same feeling, with which Miranda in the Tempest first looked upon the shipwrecked prince. It was of no consequence, that their heroes resembled in external qualities the Coriolanus and Cæsar of the English stage, a century ago, who trod the boards in gold-laced coats and periwigs; or that in every other respect, they were as shadowy and unsubstantial as the ghosts of Celtic tradition, through whose forms the stars 'dim-twinkled;' the kangaroo was not seen with more delight by Blumenbach, the giraffe by all Paris, nor the white Indian by the fashionables of London, than these hitherto unknown beings were welcomed by the confirmed admirers of romance. But the pleasure which arises from the neglect of truth and nature, cannot be very lasting; and these works have had their day. The characters of romance, like those of real life, must in future be invested with the common attributes of humanity.

We have already intimated, that we consider Mr. Cooper as possessing, in a very high degree, the first qualification to which we have adverted; that of power in description. His delineations of natural scenery possess all the vividness and distinctness, which constitute the principal charm of all such representations; and they are graphic also; they bear about them an air of truth, which satisfies us that they are real. They are not magnified by being seen through a mist; but each object has its proportionate magnitude and distinctness of outline, and every scene is like a beautiful prospect at the hour of a clear sun-rise. The writer tells us what he has himself seen, and not what others have described to him. His style has not the elaborate and finished beauty of that of Mr. Irving; but if his coloring be less beautiful, his pencil is equally bold and true. This is a power, which nothing but the love of nature

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can confer; for, unlike the veiled prophet, it is to her devoted worshippers, and to them alone, that the Mighty Mother condescends to unveil her awful face. This power is not to be gained from books. If we would be satisfied of this, we have only to read the oriental poetry of Moore and Southey, both of whom have pillaged with pious sacrilege all the treasures of the East, which mere books could give; and have endeavored to dazzle our eyes by a display of magnificence, that we may not perceive the indistinctness of their own conceptions. 'There are lands,' says Cleaveland in the Pirate, 'where the eye may look bright upon groves of the palm and the cocoa, and where the foot may move light as a galley under sail over fields carpeted with flowers, and savannas surrounded by aromatic thickets, and where subjection is unknown, except that of the brave to the bravest, and of all to the most beautiful.' This is a fine picture of the imagination, certainly; but it wants the clearness and distinctness of reality. Nor is the knowledge of the scene which is described, enough, without the faculty of poetical association. While one is admiring the bold and variegated scenery around the Highland lakes, another may be counting the cost of converting them into feeders of a canal for the passage of coal-boats. We do not, as we have already said, deem it necessary to multiply examples of Mr. Cooper's superiority in this power of description, as the finest of them will readily recur to the recollection of most of his readers. It is, however, most strikingly displayed in one department, in which no one can accuse him of imitation; in which nobody has preceded him, or has yet attempted to become his rival. Whatever opinions may be entertained of his success in other respects, all will agree, that his boldest and most triumphant march is on the mountain wave. He treads the deck with the same conscious pride, with which the Highland outlaw stood upon his native heath. The ever-changing aspects of ocean, winds and sky,—the wild excitement and hurry of the combat,—the terrors of the storm,—the still deeper terrors of the desperate passage through the narrow channel, which despair only would attempt, and nothing but perfect skill could accomplish,—all that a sailor sees, dares, and suffers, are as familiar to him, as the scenery of the haunts of childhood is to us. He has made the ship emphatically a thing of life; we are interested in its fortunes, as we sympathize in those of a living being; and when the graceful Ariel is dashed upon the rock, we hardly wonder at the feeling which

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tempts the rough old mariner to share its fate. In fact, if we were called upon to select passages of vivid and powerful description, we know not where we could find many more striking, than those which Mr. Cooper has given us of the wonders of the sea; they are the more sure evidences of his talent, because, as we have already said, they are peculiarly his own; and the effect which they produce is as different from that which is produced by the nautical descriptions of others, those of Miss Porter in the Scottish Chiefs, for example, as the movements of an opera-dancer are superior to those of Maelzel's *automata*. We are aware, that they have been occasionally denounced by individuals who profess to be well versed in these mysteries, as untrue to nature; but the testimony of other equally competent judges is no less decisive in their favor; and, in fact, the objections appear to be in general confined to the account which he has given of the dialect and manners of his sailors. Without pretending to decide between these conflicting authorities, on the point in regard to which they are at issue, we need only remark, that these objections have scarcely any application to other particulars, in which we consider Mr. Cooper's merits as beyond question.

We cannot, however, award him the same measure of praise for his skill in the delineation of character. Poverty of invention is not his ordinary failing; but he seems to be afflicted with a want of knowledge of human nature, which prevents him from giving a proper degree of distinctness and individuality, and, above all, variety to the persons of the drama. They seem to have been selected on the same enlightened principle which guided Falstaff in filling the ranks of his gallant company; 'mortal men,—mortal men; they 'll fill a pit as well as better.' In his creations of the softer sex, Mr. Cooper appears determined, that they shall not be exposed to the imputation of bringing a snare, by dint of vain and unprofitable attractions; and they are accordingly so painted, as to leave the delinquent without apology, who suffers them to beguile him. When he wishes them to assume the air of unusual liveliness and grace, he artfully invests them with the habiliments of the other sex. The most striking character which he has yet drawn, with the exception, perhaps, of the Spy, is carried in successive novels through the various stages of manhood, decline, and absolute decrepitude, until the reader is prepared to receive with composure the intelligence of his dissolution.

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This may be well enough; but there is not the same justifiable cause for introducing us anew to Betty Flanagan, notwithstanding the unexpected change in her condition, or for causing Sergeant Hollister to dawn upon the reader a second time, in the full-blown glories of a militia captain. His blacks, also, may be very meritorious personages in their way; but it wearies the spirit to see a detachment of them grinning upon us at every turn, like the pyramid of shining faces that watched the dance through a window in the Legend of Sleepy Hollow. This is a sort of demonology, which is very apt to pall upon the sense; and we are not unfrequently tempted to wish, that the author were more inclined to imitate the philanthropic views of the Colonization Society, and to export them, at least, from the dominions of romance.

We may possibly subject ourselves to the imputation of being unreasonably sensitive; but a decent regard to the New England character impels us to declare, that it has never been our fortune to encounter any Yankee, in any novel, who has the slightest claim to be considered as a fair specimen of the genus. To speak plainly, we look upon all these pretended representatives of that character, as not a whit better than wooden nutmegs. We venture to assert, that no such ogre was ever permitted to roam at large among us, as Mr. Galt has recently created, under the denomination of Zerobabel Hoskins; nor are we prepared to admit, that our villages are infested by Hiram Doolittles. These walking notes of interrogation are also represented as disburthening themselves in a dialect, which has long since forfeited its claims to be considered as a living language, if, indeed, it were ever spoken by any of our tribes. With all our respect for Mr. Irving, we feel under no greater obligations to him in this particular. His Ichabod Crane belongs to the same class of non-descripts, as David Gamut. Both are as little entitled to the credit of being representatives of New England, as was ancient Pistol to that of being the hero of King Henry's army.

Mr. Cooper does not appear to attempt the description of a character of a high order, with half the satisfaction with which he enters upon that of one of a less dignified cast. His views are sarcastic or ludicrous; his inclination is evidently to the comic; and he appears to put some restraint upon himself, like one who is performing an allotted and unwelcome task, when he leaves the domain of broad farce. Such characters as Washington

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seem forced upon him by a sort of necessity; they are a very unmanageable burden, and one of which he very gladly rids himself at the first convenient season; and for this no reasonable person could blame him, if Washington had been the person he describes him. In making them dignified, he is rather apt to make them dull. He communicates no definite idea of them to others, because he does not appear to have formed one for himself. This inclination to caricature, though a source of occasional amusement, is an unfortunate one for the novelist; for besides inducing him to dwell upon a certain class of character to the exclusion of others, it renders even that class exaggerated, and leads in both ways to limited and erroneous views of human nature. Mr. Cooper's lawyers are all knaves, and his physicians either bores or quacks. One might almost be led to suspect, that he finds more pleasure in Ben Pump and Dick Fid, to say nothing of other personages of a similar character, than in those of higher intellectual pretensions.

These remarks, however, are not to be taken without some qualification. The character of the Spy is bold and striking; and, as the true Harvey Birch has come forward to claim it as his own, it seems to be too late to question its reality; though the voluntary descent to a degrading occupation would hardly seem perfectly consistent with the lofty tone of moral feeling, which disinterested patriotism supposes or inspires. That of Leatherstocking, though in some respects inferior, is more distinctly conceived, and supported with greater vigor and effect. The honest, untaught simplicity of the old hunter,—the almost devotional feeling, which his solitary communion with nature has inspired, and the sorrow with which he witnesses the progress of civilization,—all of which are traits which one might naturally expect to find in him, are well portrayed, and have the additional merit of entire originality. The Pilot excites strong interest at first, because we expect him to throw aside his mysterious disguise, and reveal himself as the man-of-war emerges from the mist; but he dwindles at the close into a dim and shadowy sketch. Nor do the Red Rover and Tiller leave any very deep impression on the mind of the reader. We have been sometimes inclined to suspect, that the whole machinery of these novels has been set in motion, in order to give the writer an opportunity to display his descriptive power. His representations of the Indians have been often censured, on the ground, that he

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has ascribed to them some qualities to which they make no pretensions, and that his view of their manners is much too favorable. It may be so; but there can be little doubt, that his portraits accord very well with the ideas which are commonly entertained in regard to the Indian; nor would it be altogether just to condemn them, when the impressions of different observers differ so essentially. We do not see that the savage state is at all inconsistent with the possession of many imposing and noble qualities; nor would it be unnatural, that independence and loftiness of feeling should sometimes produce the effects, which many suppose to be peculiar to a different state of society. Rob Roy is fierce and vindictive, and his wife has rather the advantage over our savages in point of ferocity; but notwithstanding Mr. Jarvie's distrust of the latter, the poet has ascribed noble sentiments, and occasional refinement of manners and feeling to both.

These are, in our judgment, the prominent merits and defects of Mr. Cooper. So far as his knowledge of human nature goes, it indicates no want of penetration; but its range is too limited. It is this defect, which makes his historical romances, or rather the historical part of his romances, any thing but engaging; their characters pass by us, like the busy population in the crowded street; and after having been for some time in their company, we feel the chill of their icy dignity, and take our leave of them with the same frigid tranquillity, with which Johnson dismissed his folio dictionary; inwardly resolving, that it shall not be our fault, if we encounter them again. It is not the business of romance, as it appears to be of history, to paint kings with their crowns and sceptres, and inferior dignitaries in their court-dresses, when, for all the purposes of amusement or instruction, they might as well be lying in state; we wish to look behind the curtain, and to see them by the fireside, in the capacity of men; to hear their familiar conversation, to watch the play of feeling and passion; to know them, in short, as we may, if we will, know those around us. Conversation reveals those sentiments, which indicate, if they do not constitute character; in the drama, it is the only means of disclosing character at all; if we would understand the effect, which acquaintance with the heart is capable of producing, we have only to turn from Irene to king Lear. The field of the novelist is greater, and his colors more varied; but it is not well to attempt to dispense with this dramatic power; for

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if he possess it not, and his personages make their appearance with solemn majesty, as if put upon their good behavior, and utter their responses with the wariness of a diplomatist, who is afraid of being circumvented, their strict propriety will not be an effectual antidote for their dullness. These pattern characters are afflicting enough in real life; but in a novel, where there is no escaping from them, they are like the east-wind in spring. The author seems to stand, instructing them, as the Duchess de la Ferté directed her *protegée;* 'Give us a little religion, my dear, in the first place, and then you may talk of something else.' Cowper's idea of a tea-party is but a type of this. Such is the fault of a certain portion of Mr. Cooper's characters; his comic personages, who, as we have already observed, are evidently his favorites, contrive to make themselves heard with a vigor and effect, which might be very advantageously imitated by their betters. So long as he draws from the life, he draws well; but the field of his observation should be more extended, in order to give perfection to his plan.

One of the most prominent attractions of Mr. Cooper's works, is his description of American scenery, and of a variety of incidents and circumstances, which could be found in no other country. This is naturally a merit in our eyes, and, as we have reason to believe, in the eyes of foreigners also. These descriptions wear an air of truth, which mere fancy could not bestow. Poets have a large license accorded to them in this respect; and they occasionally create a world of their own, with climate and scenery of their own making. But it is better for the novelist, to take the world as he finds it; or the result of his labors will be lost. It would have been quite absurd in Johnson, to have transported his Greenland Ajut to the happy valley; and the writer of romance should feel in this respect, like the Highland outlaw. 'The world has not a prospect which could console me for the loss of the rocks and cairns, wild as they are, which you see around us.' The world has not, in fact, a nobler prospect to give, than that which our own country presents to the eye of genius. It may fly, almost with the rapidity of thought, from the abodes of luxury and splendor, beyond the farthest limits of civilization, and the change will be like ascending to some remote period, of which memory hardly retains the tradition; it may contemplate the creations, which are springing up, as if by enchantment, be-

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neath the hand of enterprise; or it may watch the infinite variety of character arising from the thousand modes of existence and diversities of condition, which abound where nothing is stationary, and every thing is new and progressive; and our equally varied scenery will make the ample and magnificent back-ground of the picture. It may thus invest itself with a crown of glory, like that which Mr. Irving tells us, is seen at sunset to encircle the mountains that tower above the Hudson; and it may do more than this; it may associate the name of its possessor with the recollection of the headlands and rivers and mountains of his native land, and thus impart to his name an existence as permanent as theirs. Such is the field, on which Mr. Cooper has entered with encouraging success; but he has not accomplished all, which his powers seem capable of effecting; it abounds in richer treasures than any, which have yet been gathered. But the wild scenery of Glen's Falls—the terrific conflagration in the forest,—the sweep of the flame over the vast level of the western prairie,—the distant view of the majestic Hudson, and the Highlands that lift themselves upward from its banks, are examples of his talent in describing the appearances, which his own country presents to his view, that will not soon fade from the recollection of the reader.

The remarks which we have already made, render it unnecessary to enter into a critical examination of Mr. Cooper's style. It partakes of the merits and defects to which we have already alluded. In description, it is copious and animated, and often rises to a high degree of poetical beauty; but when character is his theme, it is very apt to become inaccurate and cold. In consequence of this, his conversations, instead of being, as they should be, the portion of his works on which we most delight to dwell, are the very parts, which we are most willing to hurry over, without the slightest inclination to return to them again. The construction of his story, too, we regard as a matter of inferior importance. There is no standard of interest or probability, by which its excellence can be tested; and the combinations of possible events have been so far exhausted, that it is hard to complain of want of originality. It is enough, that it satisfies the reader.

With these impressions in regard to Mr. Cooper, we need hardly say, that it was with the enthusiasm of Byron, that we welcomed him 'once more upon the waters, yet once more.' But we do not propose to compress the contents of his work

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into a few of our pages, or to present a barren outline of its story; for it is more just to the reader, and certainly far more so to the author to suppose, what is doubtless the fact, that the Water-Witch is by this time familiar to all the admirers of romance, and that each has formed his own estimate of its merits. For ourselves, we refer to it rather in confirmation of the correctness of the remarks which we have made, than for any other purpose. Its family-likeness is rather too strong to some of the preceding productions of its author; and we find in it the same want of distinctness and power in the delineation of character, of which we have already complained. Tiller, the 'Skimmer of the Seas,' is a bold, adventurous and skilful seaman, and nothing more; and Alderman Van Beverout and Ludlow, who stand next to him in point of prominence, have no personal qualities which attract and command the attention. In the female department, Eudora and La belle Barbérie have few charms for the reader. But the inexpressive face of beauty, and the stiff jargon of the Alderman and sailing-master are forgotten, when we gaze upon the magnificent harbor of our first commercial city—when we follow the movements of the gallant ships in the chase,—through the perilous channel of Hurl-gate, or the hurry of the evening battle,—or witness, with breathless interest, the spectacle of the burning vessel. These are the scenes, which give Mr. Cooper his superiority to all the novelists of the day, with the exception of one distinguished name; we wish that he might unite with these titles to our admiration, the still higher claim of a dominion over the heart; but these alone will continue to ensure for him an exalted rank among those whose fancy delights, even when it fails to instruct or elevate us.

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ART. XII.—*Bank of the United States.**

1. *Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the First Session of the Twenty-first Congress, Dec.* 8, 1829. Washington.
2. *Report of Mr. Smith of Maryland, from the Committee of Finance, to whom was referred a Resolution of the 30th December*, 1829, *directing the Committee to inquire into the Expediency of establishing a uniform National Currency for the United States, and to report thereon to the Senate, March* 29, 1830. Washington.
3. *Report of Mr. McDuffie, from the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President, as relates to the Bank of the United States, April* 13, 1830. Washington.
4. *Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-first Congress, Dec.* 7, 1830. Washington.

The currency, which is always an important, is at this period a particularly interesting topic, in consequence of the discussions, to which the question of renewing the Charter of the Bank of the United States naturally leads. Though the act of incorporation does not expire till 1836, the constitutionality and expediency of continuing a national institution of this nature, already occupy the serious attention of the Executive and Legislative departments of the Government. The President, in his Message at the opening of the First Session of the Twenty-first Congress, presented the subject 'to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the people;' declaring, that 'both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this (the present) Bank, are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens; and (that) it must be admitted

* In the article on the Bank, which appeared in our last number, it was intimated, that the subject would be resumed in a future one, by the same writer. It may, therefore, be proper to state, that the present article is by another hand. The sequel of the former one will probably be given in October. There is some divergence between the views of our two correspondents on particular points; but their general objects, those of showing the utility of the Bank, and the expediency of continuing it, are substantially the same.

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by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.' From the consideration of this Message, resulted the Report of Mr. McDuffie. The scope of the inquiry made by the Committee of the Senate was more extensive, as it embraced the general question of a national currency; but the conclusion from both investigations was the same, viz. that the Bank had fulfilled the great end for which it was created, and that it furnished the country with a uniform and sound currency. On this point, the Legislature is consequently at issue with the Executive.

The constitutionality of the Bank of the United States,—a question which did not occupy the attention of the Committee of the Senate,—is defended with great zeal and ability, by the Committee of Ways and Means; and is established, not only by argument and judicial decisions, but by that authority, which often outweighs them both in the estimation of the community, —the sanction of illustrious names. It is shown, that all or nearly all the distinguished statesmen of our country, not excepting Mr. Jefferson, have, at one time or another of their public career, either supported a national bank, or officially admitted the constitutional power of the General Government to incorporate such an institution. But though it is always satisfactory to have such testimony, that our fundamental charter has not been violated, we are far from deeming it necessary to adduce it on the present occasion. If there be any one circumstance, which pre-eminently characterizes our federal institutions, it is the power of the Supreme Court to determine, in the last resort, on the constitutionality of the acts of Congress and of the State Legislatures, and to carry its decrees into effect, by its action on individuals, without having recourse to the authority of separate States. This high tribunal, to which the decision appropriately belongs, has, after solemn argument, repeatedly established the validity of the law creating the Bank of the United States; and its constitutionality can therefore no longer, without subverting our political system, be considered a doubtful question. The only points remaining for future discussion, are the expediency of such an institution, and the propriety of continuing it on its present basis.

The business performed by the National Bank, may be viewed under several heads. It combines all the various functions of a bank of deposit, of discount and of circulation, deals largely

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in foreign exchange, and at the same time facilitates the ordinary fiscal arrangements of the Government.

1. The connexion which individuals have with the mother bank and its branches, as offices of discount and deposit, does not differ from that which exists between the numerous local institutions established throughout the Union, and their customers. According to the system universally adopted with us, banks afford safe and convenient places for the deposit of money, on which they allow no interest, and for taking charge of which they are compensated by the balances of the accounts of their dealers; which, as well as their capital, are employed in the discounting of bills of exchange or promissory notes. As all these institutions, instead of confining themselves to the business of affording facilities to merchants to anticipate the payment of bills and notes created in the course of actual business, are in the habit of making permanent loans, in the form of renewable discounts of accommodation paper, it is evident, that it is not on account of any deficiency, that would otherwise exist in the banking capital, that a national institution is necessary. Receiving deposits and making discounts, are, however, convenient, though not essential auxiliaries, to the exercise of the important duty, with which the Bank is intrusted, of supplying 'a uniform and sound currency.'

2. As it is in its character of a bank of circulation, that the Bank of the United States is known to the public at large, we do not deem any apology necessary, for considering at some length the principles of money, and the rules which it is necessary to observe, in order that paper may retain an exchangeable value, equal to that of the coin which it represents. These are matters, which ought to be clearly understood by all, who are called upon to take a part in the delicate business of regulating the currency of the country,—a subject second in importance to none, which can come before the national Legislature, and in discussing which, we shall also advert to the scheme offered by the Executive as a substitute for the existing bank.

An invariable standard cannot, in the nature of things, exist. A commodity may be selected, which will serve as a measure of value for other articles produced under the same circumstances. But, besides the variations arising from the quantity of labor necessary for production at different periods, and the unequal times required to bring articles to market, the differ-

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ent combinations of fixed and circulating capital, and the various degrees of durability of fixed capital, cause great fluctuation in the value of commodities. It is true that, in ordinary cases, labor is the basis of value, and that it is the relative cost of production, which regulates the terms on which one commodity is exchanged for another. We, however, estimate an article, not only by the labor bestowed on it immediately, but by that also which has been expended on the various implements required to give effect to the particular labor to which they were applied. Regard must likewise be had to the greater or less rapidity, with which the returns for different commodities are received by the merchant or manufacturer. Utensils or machinery may not only have unequal quantities of labor realized in them, but they may be calculated to last almost indefinitely, or they may approach to the nature of circulating capital. The theory of rent has shown the extreme unfitness of corn, which Dr. Smith selected as a universal standard, to perform the functions of a measure of value. Agricultural produce is peculiarly subject to change, as its value must alter with every successive recourse to inferior soils, or application of capital to land with diminished returns. The want of an invariable standard is experienced when we attempt to estimate the relative prices of commodities at different periods; but if the same article be uniformly employed as the medium of exchange, the real fluctuation in the cost of its production will rarely be sufficiently rapid to occasion any serious inconvenience in the currency of a particular country. The commodity chosen, should, in its intrinsic value, bear some relation to the labor realized in the ordinary subjects of exchange. Hence, where accumulation prevails only to an inconsiderable extent, the adoption of the baser metals in preference to gold and silver.

The interdiction of the precious metals as a circulating medium, and the substitution of a cumbersome coinage of iron money, are enumerated among the wise enactments of Lycurgus. But, as the energies of the nation were diverted from the production of wealth, and as the Lacedæmonians must, therefore, have had few commodities possessed of great exchangeable value, the banishment of gold and silver was a necessary consequence of their institutions, independent of all positive legislation.

Copper formed the basis of the Roman currency till five

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years before the first Punic war, when silver coin came into use. Gold was not introduced till sixty-two years afterwards, or 204 years before Christ. In Russia, copper has always constituted a large portion of the metallic currency; the amount of it coined in that Empire during the last century having been, notwithstanding its great comparative bulk, in the proportion of two rubles of copper to three of gold and silver.* Many modern States have employed small quantities of copper as subsidiary coins; and Sweden, Austria, and other powers, have sometimes resorted to a currency of this and other inferior metals, as a temporary financial expedient.

Gold and silver, which possess many of the qualities required in an article of universal circulation, have been ordinarily used as the money of the civilized world. The copper of different countries is not of the same uniform quality. The mines of Siberia produce metal superior to the German. That of Sweden is better than the Russian; while the copper of Japan is preferable to the Swedish. On the other hand, a pound of pure gold, which issues from the mines of America or the rivers of Africa, is exactly equal to a pound of pure gold from the mines of Europe. Neither the atmosphere nor time alters the quality, and the weight of every part of the metal is an exact measure of its quantity and value as compared with every other part. The precious metals are also ductile, malleable, and divisible into small parts. They are essentially articles of merchandise, the value of which is determined, like that of all other commodities, by the amount of labor requisite to produce them. As in the case of agricultural produce, it is the price of that portion of the metals which is brought to market under the least favorable circumstances, that determines the value of the whole. Owing to their being articles of universal merchandise, and the consequent steadiness of the demand for them, they are exposed to fewer temporary fluctuations than any other commodities. The discovery of America, however, by presenting to the enterprise of Europe the mines of Peru and Mexico, produced, on the value of gold and silver in the markets of the world, effects similar to those which would result from adding to any particular country, where

*The gold and silver coined in Russia between 1762 and 1811, amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven millions of rubles; the copper exceeded ninety millions. Storch. Cours d' Economie Pol. Tom. IV. p. 87.

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recourse has been had to inferior soils, an indefinite supply of land of the first fertility.

The whole amount of the precious metals throughout the world, in bullion, coin, and plate, has been supposed by Senior* and other English economists, to amount to £2,000,000,000 sterling, or about $9,000,000,000.† At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the whole annual product of the mines of North and South America, was estimated at forty-three and a half millions of dollars; while those of Europe only furnished a fifteenth part of that quantity. In consequence of the civil wars, it has been conjectured, that the deficiency in the supply from the mines during the eight years preceding 1819, exceeded two hundred millions of dollars. This sum must subsequently have been at least doubled. The difficulties growing out of the revolutionary struggles are not yet terminated, and the speculations of foreigners for obtaining the precious metals, by the application of improved machinery, have in a great degree proved abortive. In 1824, there was actually an exportation of gold and silver from England to the mining countries. Whatever, therefore, may hereafter be the efficiency of the steam-engine, a long time must elapse before the *vacuum* occasioned by the diminished production of the last twenty years is supplied. A still longer period must also intervene, before these metals are sensibly depreciated in the markets of the world, in consequence of the increased demand occasioned by the extension of civilization, and which even the falling-off in the East India demand can hardly counterbalance.

To facilitate the use of the metals, as a medium of exchange, and to prevent the necessity of weighing and assaying them in ordinary transactions, a mark was early placed upon them, to denote their value. 'A coin is merely a piece of metal of known weight and fineness,' and gold and silver, as well after the introduction of the stamp, as when they passed by weight and not by tale, exchanged for other commodities of equal

* Lectures on the Art of Obtaining Money, by N. W. Senior, A. M. Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, p. 44.

† A late writer in the American Quarterly Review considers these statements as grossly exaggerated, and estimates the gold and silver, now existing in Europe, at only four thousand five hundred millions of dollars in value, of which from one third to two fifths is used as currency, the remainder being worked up in plate, jewels, and other manufactured articles.

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value. It requires no inconsiderable knowledge of the metals to be able to determine, by inspection, the purity of the coins in circulation; and this, in some instances, is impracticable, without the aid of chemical analysis. That the quantity of gold and silver, in the pieces which form the currency, should be ascertained by an authority in which general confidence is reposed, is of the first consequence in rendering the metals fit instruments of exchange. This office has been generally assumed as a prerogative of sovereignty, and by our Constitution is exclusively vested in the Federal Government.

In England, Russia, and the United States, the same weight of pure metal, that is brought to the mint in bullion or foreign coin, is delivered in the coin of the country. This applies in England only to gold, the sole legal tender, silver not being, since 1816, payable except in small sums, and a seignorage of 6.48 per cent. being imposed on its coinage. In the United States, both gold and silver are legal tenders for debts to any extent. Here, however, as is also the case in England, copper has never been received but as a subsidiary currency, and has been greatly overvalued. The charges at the mints of France and Denmark, are inadequate to reimburse the expenses of these establishments; but the greater part of the European States derive considerable revenues from coinage. A charge equivalent to the expense of fabrication seems to be supported by just principles. There is no more reason why those who use silver and gold as coin, should have the fashion of them furnished gratuitously, than that the Government should generously offer to convert bullion, free of all expense, into articles for domestic use. If the seignorage were only equal to the difference between the labor worked up in the same weight of coined and uncoined metal, it would always lead to the exportation of bullion, in preference to the money of the country. The expense now wasted on the coining of gold and silver, which is merely taken from one mint to be sent to another, would then be, in a considerable degree, saved.

It is scarcely practicable to make two metals indifferently standards of value. If their relative prices be apportioned with the greatest accuracy, they must always be subject to fluctuations, both temporary and permanent. Gold is worth fifteen or sixteen times as much as silver, because it costs fifteen or sixteen times more labor to produce a given quantity of gold, than it does to procure the same weight of silver. Suppose,

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however, that machinery should be applied to the extraction of one of the precious metals, which cannot be used for obtaining the other, or that, by the discovery of new mines, an alteration should take place in the comparative abundance of gold and silver, is it not obvious that their relative value must be changed? Nor are variations in the value of these metals altogether unknown. At the period of the discovery of our Continent, they were exchanged for each other at the rate of one for ten; while, according to the existing regulations of Europe, gold, as compared with silver, varies in different States, from one to thirteen and a half, to one to fifteen and a half, and its market price is not far from one to sixteen.

It has been already stated, that the United States have a double standard. This is also the case with France. In Great Britain, as we have seen, gold, with unimportant exceptions, is the only legal tender. In Russia, according to the system established in 1810, the silver ruble is the standard by which all payments stipulated to be made in metallic money, must be regulated; and the Government leaves it to individuals to settle for themselves the value of gold relatively to silver, which of course varies in the market from time to time. The experience of all countries, where gold and silver have been indifferently adopted as standards, has shown, that debtors will pay in the coin which has the highest legal value, compared with its market price as bullion; and that the other, being estimated too low at the mint, will be driven from circulation. By the French law, gold bears to silver the relation of fifteen and a half to one, that is to say, a debtor may indifferently discharge a debt contracted in francs, by paying to his creditor fifteen and a half ounces of silver, or one ounce of gold, they both being coined into money. But, as an ounce of gold is really worth a little more than fifteen and a half ounces of silver, payments are made in preference in the latter metal, which is generally employed in France as money. When, for convenience in travelling, or other purposes, gold is desired, a premium must be given for it. In our system, as their proportional values are fixed at fifteen for one, the advantage of employing silver is still greater, and however much gold might be coined, it would, unless the standard rates were altered, soon disappear from circulation.

In looking into the history of money, we find, that a common error has pervaded the regulations which have been adopted

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by governments. They have proceeded on the principle, that the authority of the sovereign, and not the cost of the metal, constituted the value of the coin. They have thus arbitrarily altered the amount of silver and gold contained in pieces of different denominations. They have conceived, that, if the name of the coin were retained, it would exchange for the same quantity of other commodities. In order to enable the State to discharge its debts by a less value than was originally stipulated, every private debtor has had legal permission given to him to defraud those by whom he has been trusted. The Roman *as* or *pondo*, which, in the reign of Servius Tullius, contained twelve ounces, was, 175 years before Christ, reduced to half an ounce. The currencies of most of the States of modern Europe present similar instances of degradation; their pound, *livre*, or other coin, having been at first of the weight of metal corresponding with its denomination. Such, however, has been the effect of successive changes, that the French *livre* of 1103 was worth, in the money of 1789, 78 *livres*, 17 *sols*. In England, a pound weight of gold, of the fineness of twenty-three carats, three and a half grains, was, in 1344, coined into £13.3.4. In 1816, the same quantity of that metal, of the purity of twenty-two carats, made £46.14.6 of the standard coin. In Russia, from the year 1700 to 1762, the money underwent a depreciation of more than fifty per cent. Before the time of Peter the Great, 100 *copeks*, containing 11 *zolotniks* and 40 *dolis* of pure silver, made a *ruble*. In 1704, rubles were coined, containing but 5 *zol.* and 67 *dolis* of silver; and this quantity was, in 1762, reduced to 4 *zol.* 21 *dolis*. But it is not only by depreciating it, that governments have unjustly exercised their power over the currency. History informs us of a Roman emperor, who, when his subjects were bound to pay in taxes, not a determinate weight of gold, but a certain number of *aurei*, increased the quantity of metal contained in the coin; and thus, without appearing to add to their contributions, assumed to himself a command over a much larger portion of the means of the people.

The names given to money are altogether unimportant; and when the alteration of the currency becomes known, and contracts are entered into with reference to the new state of things, it is productive neither of good nor evil. The temporary effects are, however, injurious to the last degree, as will

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more fully appear, when we come to speak of a circulating medium, that is exposed to far greater variations than those to which coin can ever be subjected.

In a commercial community, it would be more inconvenient to carry on exchanges by means of gold and silver, than we can possibly suppose it to have been to conduct the limited traffic of Sparta, by the intervention of iron money. Though money be used as the measure of relative value, transactions are constantly taking place, not only between merchants of different nations, but among the inhabitants of the same country, without employing the precious metals. The trader of the interior sends agricultural produce to New York or Boston, where his corn is estimated according to the market price, and he receives in exchange dry goods and groceries, which are also valued in current money. The same thing may be supposed in relation to the trade between this country and England. Cotton is exported to Liverpool, where the American merchant is credited with the proceeds; but instead of gold and silver, foreign fabrics are supplied in return. This is a statement of a more simple case than is likely to occur in practice. But the intervention of the various classes of commercial dealers, to which the division of labor has given rise, does not affect the principle.

It would, indeed, ordinarily occur, that the corn of the interior would be forwarded to the sea-board, or the cotton shipped to Europe, by those who had the occasion to purchase any commodities from the correspondents to whom their property was consigned; and it might even happen, that they did not wish to make any disbursements in the places to which they had transmitted their produce. In such a case, it would be extremely convenient for a creditor to make an assignment of the debt to persons having occasion for funds abroad, or in a distant part of his own country, receiving an equivalent at the place of his residence. Hence the origin of bills of exchange, which is of high antiquity.*

* 'Isocrates mentions particularly, that a stranger, who had brought some grain to Athens, delivered a draft of this nature to one Stratocles, for money due to him in some place by the Euxine Sea. It appears that the dangers of the sea in the first place, and afterwards, the dread of pirates, or declared enemies, induced the merchants of those days to adopt such practices. But as the credit of the Greeks was in little re-

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In the same place, articles are often bought, with a view of being re-sold, and in such cases, the first purchaser generally calculates on paying for them by what he receives from the consumer. Instead, therefore, of exchanging at once money for commodities, a note is given, promising to pay the amount stipulated, at the expiration of sixty or ninety days. If this promise be made by a man of undoubted credit, it may be circulated among those, by whom the solvency of the maker is understood, as equivalent to the value which it represents.

Foreign bills of exchange are universally considered a part of the general currency of the mercantile world; but according to the habits of transacting business in this country, inland bills of exchange and promissory notes are discounted or purchased, with a view of obtaining interest for the use of capital, but do not, to any great degree, form part of what may be properly termed the circulating medium. In England, however, they are employed to no small extent as money, of which they perform many of the ordinary functions.*

The average amount of bills paid each day, at the clearing-house in London, is estimated at four millions, and the average period for which they are drawn, at seventy-five days, so that the gross amount of them in circulation cannot fall short of three hundred millions; and deducting those which, from the magnitude of the sums, or the length of time before the bills become due, are ineligible for performing the functions of currency, it may be considered, that 'a sum of one hundred and fifty millions of bills of exchange, (payable in London) is, in the ordinary course of affairs, at all times in circulation, representing the transfer of commodities as much as any other description of currency.' One of the witnesses before the Committee of the House of Lords, on the Scotch and Irish

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pute, this Stratocles took very good precautions; he insisted on having a banker of Athens responsible, in case the bill should be protested in the Crimea, because the drawer had no fixed habitation.'—*De Pauw on the Greeks*, Vol. I. p. 234.

* 'In the great manufacturing county of Lancashire, and in parts of Yorkshire, a bill on London at three months is reckoned a money payment; and by far the largest proportion of the currency consists either of the bills of bankers drawn on their correspondents, or those of the merchants and dealers scattered up and down the country. The same practice is followed, though to a less extent, in other districts, so that the aggregate amount of such bills afloat is enormous.'—*Smith's Wealth of Nations. With supplementary Notes by McCulloch.* Vol. IV. p. 293.

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currency, in the session of 1826, in answer to a question respecting the proportion which bills of exchange bear in value to the Bank of England notes and gold circulating in Lancashire, stated, that he should suppose, that on the 1st of December previous, those bills of the value of £10 and not exceeding £30, amounted to four fifths of the whole; and that, if he did not confine himself to bills under £30, he should say that bills of exchange were to gold and Bank of England notes, in the proportion of more than twenty to one. Some country bankers even stated them to be as fifty to one. Another witness, on being asked whether he had not seen bills of exchange of this nature, for the value of £10, with fifty or sixty names upon them, 'Yes,' replied he, 'with twice that number. I have seen slips of paper attached to a bill as long as a sheet of paper could go, and when that was filled, another attached to that.'

The necessity of having recourse to metallic money, was also in a degree obviated by the establishment of banks of deposit. Of these, the most celebrated were the banks of Venice, Amsterdam and Hamburgh. The oldest was that of Venice, which may be traced to the twelfth century. The other institutions were much more recent, not having been founded till the beginning of the seventeenth. One of the causes usually assigned for their creation, was the importance of preserving a currency of uniform value. Small States were much exposed to the introduction of clipped coin, and as the currency was not limited in quantity in proportion as it was debased in quality, great embarrassments were experienced in determining the rates at which this money should be received in large transactions. The money of Venice, as well as that of Amsterdam and Hamburgh, afforded a regular standard of value, and the certificates of these banks maintained an *agio*, or premium, on the current coin of their respective States. As the bank money was only issued to the actual depositors of specie, it was regulated as to quantity; but on the supposition that gold and silver existed in the vaults to the extent of the bank credits, according to the principles on which these institutions were formed, nothing could have been gained either to individuals or the public, in the liberation of unproductive capital.

The same reasons, however, which would give circulation to the promissory notes of individuals, or to those private bills of exchange, to which we have referred, would cause the notes

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of an institution or of a company of merchants, possessing sufficiently the confidence of the community to obtain the deposit of their gold and silver, to be much more extensively received. Banks of circulation derive their profits from issuing paper money to an extent far beyond the amount of metallic capital, on which it is based, and as they generally unite the business of offices of discount and deposit with that of emitting notes, they are enabled to give their own paper, not bearing interest, for bills of exchange and the notes of individuals, which are not yet due, and from the amount of which the interest is deducted in advance. Experience soon shows, that where a bank enjoys undoubted credit, little apprehension need be entertained that it will be called on to redeem, in specie, the whole amount of its paper, before an opportunity is afforded of converting into gold and silver the securities on which the loans are negotiated. If, before the introduction of bank notes, there were forty millions of coin in circulation, and a paper, convertible at pleasure into gold and silver, had been substituted as the medium of exchange, twenty millions of the precious metals, and probably a much smaller amount, would have been sufficient to meet every demand. An important saving might thus have been effected. Twenty millions of value would have been sent out of the country and replaced by productive capital, which would greatly augment the nation's command over the comforts and conveniences of life.

The quantity of currency required in a business community is also greatly diminished by the habit of substituting for gold and silver, or paper money, drafts or checks on bankers, drawn against previous deposits. The whole amount, however, of bank deposits cannot be considered as belonging to the circulating medium; for it often happens, that they are not made to be drawn out for further transactions or daily expenditures, but to await opportunities for permanent investments. The difficulty of ascertaining what portion of the deposits, and of the private bills of exchange, perform the functions of money, renders it, therefore, almost impossible to state with accuracy the aggregate of what may properly be termed the currency, or circulating medium of a country.

The prospect of deriving gain from the issue of paper money was too tempting to be resisted by sovereigns, and we find that nearly every power of Christendom has had recourse to it as a financial arrangement. Unrestrained, however, by the checks

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that may be applied to individuals only,—the true rules that should regulate the quantity of the currency,—they have made their own necessities the only limits of their issues. But, before illustrating this part of our subject by a reference to examples, it may be well to inquire how it happens, that paper money, altogether destitute of intrinsic value, exchanges for commodities, in which labor is realized.

If the circulation of a country be, for example, $20,000,000, the value of any part of which bears a definite relation to that of any given commodity, according to the amounts of labor respectively realized in the gold and silver, or in the merchandise for which it serves as a measure, and a paper money of the same precise amount and denomination be substituted for the precious metals, what will be the result? It is evident, that the whole quantity of the new currency being equal to the entire amount of the old, while the articles to be measured remain the same, each paper dollar must bear the same relation to any commodity, that the coin previously did. The currency becomes limited in amount, as in cases of monopoly; and the principle of demand and supply governs. If so much paper be issued, as to increase the money of the country beyond the amount of the circulating medium, which would have been employed, had gold and silver continued to constitute the currency, it is equally apparent, that it will become degraded in value. On the other hand, if the paper money be less in amount than the metallic, which it replaces, every dollar of paper currency will exchange for more commodities than the gold or silver, which it replaces, previously did.

If we refer to the monetary system of different States, we shall find, that the depreciation of paper money has always been proportionate to the excess of the issues. Law, whose chimerical projects were adopted by the Government of Louis XV., contended, that the augmentation of the currency had solely the effect of reducing the rate of interest, and that its increased amount would be absorbed by the new channels of industry, to which it would give rise. The attempt to carry these views into practice, soon drove from circulation all the gold and silver coin, and the excessive issues of paper degraded the notes so far below their nominal value, that the Government, in order to give them a forced currency, resorted, without effect, to the most arbitrary measures. By one decree, every person was prohibited from keeping in his possession

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more than five hundred *livres* in specie, or any articles of gold and silver, under penalty of confiscation of the excess, and ten thousand *livres*. Making a payment of one hundred *livres* or upwards, except in notes, was also severely punished. After having put in circulation upwards of twenty-two hundred and thirty-five millions of *livres*, and raised the price of every thing to three times its former amount, the coin that had previously served as currency having only amounted to eight hundred millions of *livres*, the operation of Law's schemes terminated in an almost universal bankruptcy. In the words of Sir James Stuart, 'a man with a hundred millions of bank notes might have starved in the street.'

The effects on public and private credit, which were produced at a later period, by the issue of the French *assignats*, were not less calamitous. Some idea may be formed of the consequences of the unlimited emission of this irredeemable paper, when it is recollected, that from the meeting of the Constituent Assembly to the adoption of the Constitution of '95, *assignats* were put in circulation for the sum of forty-five thousand five hundred and eighty-one millions of *livres*,* and that such was their degradation in value, that at the latter period, a note for one hundred *livres* exchanged for three *sous* six *deniers* of metallic money. The effect of the depreciation on individuals, many of whom depended for their subsistence on the annuities of the State, has been thus forcibly described by a continental writer.

'When the *assignats* had fallen more than fifty per cent., when terror had got possession of the public, and when all hope had been abandoned of bringing the paper to *par*, the unfortunate creditors of the State saw themselves abandoned to all the horrors of constantly increasing misery. Every day their revenues became more and more inadequate to furnish the necessaries of life; public charity was destroyed by the universal wretchedness. These unfortunate beings, with haggard eyes, with cheeks hollow from famine, wandered through the streets soliciting compassion; and after vain efforts, threw themselves every evening into the Seine, and escaped by suicide the most frightful of all calamities, —death from hunger.'†

The experiment in France did not stop with the *assignats*.

* The present amount of the French currency is estimated at from two thousand to two thousand five hundred millions of francs.

† Storch. Cours d' Economie Politique, Tom. IV. p. 163.

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It was attempted to replace this currency by issuing at once two thousand four hundred millions of *mandats territorieux*, based upon the security of the royal and other confiscated domains, and a part of the old emissions was also absorbed by a forced loan from those who had any property left, to the amount of six hundred millions in coin; in the subscription, one hundred francs in paper being received for one of metallic money. This expedient was the means of withdrawing fourteen thousand millions of francs from circulation. The new bills of credit, emitted without any reference to the principles which regulate the current value of money, soon shared the fate of the *assignats*, and in the course of a few months one hundred *livres* of paper fell to one *livre*, ten *sous* of coin. Such, indeed, has ever since been the feeling of the French nation with regard to paper money, that the National Bank, which alone issues notes for circulation, is restricted to those of the denomination of five hundred and a thousand francs, and these are only current as money in Paris.

Were it necessary, similar illustrations might be cited from the history of the other continental powers; but England and our own country afford sufficient instances of the various experiments that may be made to regulate the currency. The inconvertible, depreciated, and fluctuating currency, which, for the first quarter of the present century, served as the standard of value in Great Britain, was issued under the name of a commercial company; but the restriction on cash payments in 1797, followed up, as it was, by the acts of Parliament, that made Bank of England notes *virtually* a legal tender for all debts, gave to them most of the defects of a government paper money. Though, for the reasons that will be hereafter mentioned, the depreciation was not contemporaneous with Mr. Pitt's Order in Council, to that measure may be traced that degradation of the English currency, which, through the foreign exchanges, was felt in every part of the commercial world.

But it is hardly necessary to have recourse to other nations for an illustration of the derangements to which a government paper may be exposed. Our ancestors seem to have been as intent on the retention of specie, as any of the advocates of the mercantile theory. With this view, the colonists degraded the denomination of the coin, and made given quantities of those metals pass for greater sums than in the mother country. We have here the origin of the local currencies of the different

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States, which the decimal money of the Union has not entirely driven from our books of account, and which are still employed in small transactions. As might have been expected, the result of this absurd expedient was, 'that the price of all goods from the mother country rose exactly in proportion, as they raised the denomination of their coin, so that their gold and silver were exported as fast as ever.'*

Most of the Provincial Legislatures also issued notes, which were not payable on presentation, but only after the expiration of several years. This system, for which the expenses incurred by the war against the French in Canada was sometimes a plea, was a favorite measure with the people, and the cause of no inconsiderable disputes between the Assemblies and the Governors of the Colonies appointed by the Crown.

'The rate of exchange and the price of all commodities,' says an American historian, 'soon disclosed the political truth, that however the quantity of the circulating medium might be augmented, its aggregate value could not be arbitrarily increased; and that the effect of such a depreciating currency must necessarily be, to discourage the payment of debts, by holding out the hope of discharging contracts with less than the sum actually contracted for; and to substitute a species of cunning and of speculation for honest and regular industry.'†

It is an ungrateful theme to trace the successive degrees of degradation which the money of our revolution, as well that of the States as of the General Congress, underwent, till it became so depreciated as not to bring in specie the hundredth part of its nominal value. If there be any case which would seem to justify the violation of private rights for the attainment of a general good, it is that of a nation making an effort for its independent existence. Many of the remarks, however, which have been made in reference to the *assignats* of France will apply to our continental money. Indeed, the sense of the people of the United States with respect to a paper currency, not based on any adequate security, may be observed in the extreme caution, that led to the provisions in our Constitution prohibiting the States to 'emit bills of credit,' or 'make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in the payment of debts.'

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 232.
† Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. I. p. 345.

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We have dilated rather more on the evils incident to a government paper than we should have considered necessary in the present state of public opinion, were it not for a proposition on this subject contained in the Executive Messages, alluded to at the commencement of this article. The President, in the first of these documents, after expressing the opinion, which we have already quoted, as to the Bank of the United States, 'submits to the wisdom of the Legislature, whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues, might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties; and, at the same time, secure all the advantages to the Government and country that were expected to result from the present bank.'

It has been already stated, that by the substitution of money without intrinsic value, for gold and silver, a gain accrues to the issuers of paper, equal to the amount of the difference between the expense of furnishing the one medium and of maintaining the other. A posthumous tract of Mr. Ricardo contains a plan of a currency, by which the profit of emitting paper-money would be received by the Government.* But, though convertibility into coin was made the security against over-issues, so sensible was this distinguished economist of the danger of abuses, that it was a fundamental principle in his project, that the commissioners, by whom it was issued, should not be responsible to the Executive Government. The views of Mr. Ricardo, as far as we can learn, were never brought forward by any member of Parliament; and the power of making paper-money is one, which, in case of financial embarrassments, could not safely be exercised by the Executive or Legislature of any country in the universe. We should consider the gain that might arise to the nation from the substitution of government paper for the whole of the existing currency, but a poor compensation for the risk that we should thereby incur, of seeing a renewal of the horrible catastrophes attendant on the French *assignats*, or even on our own 'Continental paper.'

The inexpediency of adopting in the United States the measure under consideration, cannot be better shown, than in the language of one of the Reports before us.

'The resort to the issue of a paper money, has been often the

* Plan for the establishment of a National Bank, by David Ricardo, Esq. M. P. London. 1824.

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desperate expedient of the wants of a nation. It has then found its justification only in the necessity which created it; yet such are its inevitable evils, that every prudent government has, the moment its pressing exigencies permitted, returned to the only safe basis of a circulating medium, the precious metals, and the private credits attached to the use of them. Such were the expedients of the Government of the United States during its two wars; such its immediate abandonment of them at the return of peace. But, in the present condition of the Treasury of the United States, with a revenue far beyond its wants, with a debt almost nominal, and hastening to its entire extinguishment, such a measure is not needed by the interests of the Government, nor is there the slightest indication of its being demanded by the wants of the country. Of such an issue of paper-money, the Executive at Washington would be the natural fountain,—the agents of the Executive, the natural channels. The individuals, and corporations, and States, who borrowed it, must become debtors to the Government; and the inevitable consequence would be, the creation of a monied engine of direct dependence on the officers of Government, at variance with the whole scheme of our institutions. The limit to which this currency should be issued, the persons to whom it should be lent, the securities taken for its repayment, the places where it should be redeemed, involve great complication and great hazard, regarding it merely in a financial point of view, while, on more enlarged considerations of political expediency, the objections to it are, in the opinion of the committee, insuperable and fatal.' *Mr. Smith's Report.*

We have hitherto considered the proposition of the President as referring merely to the issue of government paper. Supposing it, as Mr. McDuffie does, to have been the intention of the Executive to suggest the establishment of a bank of discount and deposit, founded on the credit and revenues of the Government, the objections to the measure are infinitely multiplied. Without inquiring whether such an institution could afford the facilities now furnished by the Bank of the United States to the Government and the public, it may be remarked, that, while all the arguments against a paper currency remain in full force, the considerations of a political character, against such a course, are quite conclusive.

On the increase of patronage, to which the proposed measure would lead, the Committee of Ways and Means remark:

'The Bank of the United States now employs five hundred agents, in the various parts of the Union where its offices are

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established. From this fact some idea may be formed of the very great addition which would be made to the patronage of the Executive Government by the establishment of such a bank as the one under consideration.

'But the patronage resulting from the appointment,—the annual appointment,—of these agents, great as it would doubtless be, would be insignificant and harmless, when compared with that which would result from the dispensation of bank accommodations to the standing amount of at least fifty millions of dollars. The mind almost instinctively shrinks from the contemplation of an idea so ominous to the purity of the Government and the liberties of the people. No Government, of which the Committee have any knowledge, except perhaps the despotism of Russia, was ever invested with a patronage at once so prodigious in its influence and so dangerous in its character. In the most desperate financial extremities, no other European Government has ever ventured upon an experiment so perilous. If the whole patronage of the English monarchy were concentrated in the hands of the American Executive, it may be well doubted, whether the public liberty would be so much endangered by it as it would be by this vast pecuniary machine, which would place in the hands of every administration fifty millions of dollars, as a fund for rewarding political partisans.' *Mr. McDuffie's Report.*

Nor are the objections to the proposed measure materially diminished by the modifications, which it received in the Executive Message at the commencement of the second session of the last Congress.

'It is thought practicable,' says the President, 'to organize such a bank, with the necessary officers, as a branch of the Treasury Department, based on the public and individual deposits, without power to make loans or purchase property, which shall remit the funds of the Government; and the expenses of which may be paid, if thought advisable, by allowing its officers to sell bills of exchange to private individuals at a moderate premium.'

'The States,' he proceeds to observe, 'would be strengthened, by having in their hands the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks; while the Bank of the United States, though issuing no paper, would check the issues of the State banks, by taking their notes in deposit and for exchange, only so long as they continue to be redeemed with specie.'

The power over the currency, delegated by the Constitution to Congress for wise purposes, is here entirely abandoned. The new plan does not profess to hold out any preventive

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checks to the excessive issues,—almost the sole possible cause of the insolvency,—of local institutions; but the Treasury Bank is to receive their notes as long as they continue to be redeemed with specie, and only to refuse them after the mischief is effected, and after the failure of the banks, accompanied by the ruin of thousands of innocent victims, has occurred. In the concluding clause of the paragraph from which we have quoted, it is said, that 'in times of public emergency, the capacities of such an institution might be enlarged by legislative provisions;' and we here find means reserved for the renewal of the scheme of the preceding year, with all its attendant consequences. Suppose a war to occur, or the Government on other accounts to be subjected to financial embarrassments, and we shall have at once an irredeemable paper-money, indefinite in quantity, and issued by a 'few officers' of the Treasury; who, it is to be feared, under every administration, will be selected more with reference to their qualities as political partisans, than because they possess the talents appropriate to their stations as Bank Directors. As to the profits which are to accrue to the public from the contemplated establishment, the result of a similar experiment in the State of Tennessee, with which the President is immediately connected, furnishes abundant evidence. How far our merchants would relish a system of banking, which should intrust the dispensing of money accommodations to the postmasters and custom-house officers of their respective towns exclusively, we shall not here stop to inquire.

In the course of the preceding remarks, it has been observed, that the only true means to keep paper-money at the same value with gold and silver, which it represents, is to limit its amount to that of the metallic money that would have otherwise circulated. How to do this practically, is an important question; for as the demands of trade vary, what might be a proper quantity at one period, may be very improper at another. Convertibility into gold and silver is the most effectual mode that can be devised. Agreeably to the principles established above, whenever the redundancy of paper money exceeds certain limits, it becomes the interest of the holder to demand the specie, which being a money not of one particular country, but of the world, has an exchangeable value, independent of that of the local currency. As convertibility is only a means to the attainment of an end, viz. that of regulating the quantity of the currency, it is not necessary that this money should be

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exchanged for coin, in order to be free from all fluctuations, which are not incident to the standard itself. On the suggestion of Mr. Ricardo, it was therefore provided by the British act of 1819, commonly called Mr. Peel's bill, that the Bank of England should be required to deliver uncoined gold and silver at the mint standard and price, in exchange for their notes, instead of guineas; and, on the other hand, to prevent the rise of bank paper above the value of bullion, the Bank was to be obliged to receive its paper in exchange for standard gold, at a price somewhat lower than that at which it was proposed to pay gold, when demanded for notes. By this measure, the expense of the coinage and of the wear of the metals, which amount to a large annual sum, would have been in a great measure saved; while the quantity of specie necessary to be retained unproductively, might be greatly diminished. 'In practice,' says an able English economist, 'Mr. Ricardo's plan worked extremely well. While the over-issue of paper was effectually prevented, only a very few bars were demanded of the Bank; and it was generally supposed, that, instead of its operation being prematurely checked, it would have been rendered perpetual, and the farther circulation of gold coins prevented.'

But, whatever may be the mode by which it is effected, it is of the utmost importance, with a view of preventing ruinous fluctuations in the property of every individual in the community, that the circulating medium should have 'a counteracting principle within itself.' The consequence of disregarding this necessary precaution, in the issue of government paper money, has been sufficiently discussed, and it is hoped, that enough has been said to prevent the adoption of the Executive recommendation, replete as it is with the most serious evils, both political and economical, and now repudiated even by its author.

The embarrassments growing out of a currency, inconvertible into the metals, of which it is the nominal representative, and unrestricted as to quantity, though issued on the credit of private corporations and individuals, formed, at the period of its establishment, one of the most efficient motives for chartering the present Bank of the United States. A recurrence to the monetary system of that day, and a comparison of the state of the currency in 1814–15 with its present condition, will best enable us to judge how far the anticipations of the founders of the institution have been accomplished.

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The annals of the Bank of England, whose paper became in 1797, as we have seen, by the interference of the Executive, and subsequently of the Legislature, a compulsory government paper currency, rather than a money of confidence, will show that, by restricting its quantity, it was kept for many years nearly on a par with specie, and, indeed, for three years its notes even bore a small premium over gold. Though the directors professed to be governed by principles, that would have authorized their discounting the notes of all solvent dealers, they seem for a long time to have disregarded the great gains that they might have obtained from issuing their inconvertible paper to an indefinite extent. But, as they did not keep in view the relation which the price of their paper bore to that of gold, they gradually extended their issues, so that between 1809 and 1814, the notes of the Bank of England fell from ten to twenty-five per cent. discount, and they were at one time thirty per cent. below par. In 1810, there were forty-six millions of paper-money in circulation in England, twenty-three millions of which were notes of the National Bank, while in 1797, the whole currency did not exceed thirty millions, of which ten millions were Bank of England notes, and twenty millions coin, there being then no country paper.

The effect of the fall in the real value of bank paper was of course apparent in the nominal prices of exchange in every part of the world. Being but imperfectly understood, it had a great influence on the currency of other countries, where paper-money served as the ordinary medium of exchange, and contributed to induce with us, in the absence of a National Bank to supply a salutary check, that improvident augmentation of bank notes, which resulted in 1813–14, in the suspension of specie payments every where, except in the Eastern States. In the other parts of the Union, scarcely any two towns had the same currency. In the Southern and Western States, the depreciation in some instances even exceeded twenty-five per cent.

Not only was an accurate knowledge of the nominal exchange of the day necessary, before making purchases at a distant place, but a traveller, proceeding from the South or West towards the North or East, even if he were so fortunate as to have his money received at all, could not adjust his reckoning at an inn, till an abstruse calculation was made of the discount, to which his bank notes were to be subjected, or till he had had recourse to the interposition of a broker.

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In 1813, when gold and silver were paid on demand, the currency of the United States, without including specie in the vaults, was about seventy millions, of which sixty-two millions were in bank notes. Such was its rapid increase after the withdrawing of the salutary check,—the liability to pay gold and silver,—that in 1815, only two years afterwards, it amounted to one hundred and ten millions.* The currency was probably augmented during the ensuing year, and as, owing to the great demand for specie growing out of the general war, it rose in value relatively to these commodities, the redundancy of paper was even still greater than it nominally appears to have been. As in case of the derangement of the currency, the evil is two fold, viz. 1st. that arising from the depreciation, and, 2dly. the equally great one resulting from the subsequent appreciation, a change from an unsound to a healthful state is attended with nearly the same consequences as the first degradation. If, on account of the diminished value of the circulating medium, a creditor be compelled to accept one half of his debt; when the fluctuations are of an opposite character, twice as much in value may be exacted from the debtor, as he ever received or promised to pay. We may, then, judge of the embarrassments, which must have been occasioned by the reduction of the currency of the United States in the three years between 1816 and 1819, from one hundred and ten millions to forty-five millions.† As it was all important to debtors to pay in a depreciated currency, and was furthermore the interest of the local banks, as evinced by the high dividends

*We have followed in our estimates the statements given by Mr. Crawford, in 1820, and adopted as the basis of the calculations of the Committee of Ways and Means. It must, however, be admitted that the *data* furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury will hardly warrant his conclusions, and since preparing this article, we have seen a paper drawn up by an authority whose accuracy cannot well be questioned, in which the sums in the text are considerably diminished. Mr. Gallatin considers the bank notes in circulation in 1811, to have been less than $30,000,000, in 1816, about $70,000,000, and in 1820, about $45,000,000. It is also to be observed, that, in stating the amount of the currency at these several periods, we are to add to the first and third sums the coins which circulated concurrently with them, all of which were of course excluded from use, except in the Eastern States, during the depreciation of the bank notes. In adopting, however, even the lowest estimates, we assign ample cause for the depreciation of our paper currency.

† Or, according to Mr. Gallatin, from $70,000,000 to $45,000,000.

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then made, to put in circulation as much paper as possible, for the redemption of which they felt themselves under no obligation to provide, it was very apparent that no voluntary resumption of specie payments would have taken place. The stockholders, it is true, received their profits in a depreciated money, but when the dividends were raised from six to twenty per cent., even the degradation of the currency to one half of its nominal value was, under that point of view, a minor consideration.

Such indeed were the consequences to individuals, as well as to the institutions themselves, of the resumption of specie payments by the banks, that numerous schemes were suggested both here and in England for the establishment of permanent paper currencies. The House of Representatives called on the Secretary of the Treasury, by a resolution of March 1st. 1819, to report such a plan; but it is due to Mr. Crawford to state, that, although he complied with the directions referred to, and presented a view of the least obnoxious mode in which a paper-money could be issued, he conclusively showed the superiority of a metallic currency convertible at pleasure into specie. He also expressed his entire conviction, that a paper-money under the authority of Government would have no effect in relieving the embarrassments of that section of the country, which called most loudly for such a measure. Congress refused to interpose in the case, and thus left to the Bank of the United States, which they had incorporated in 1816, and which, from the provisions of its charter and the expectation of the nation, was necessarily a specie-paying institution, the burden of raising a depreciated currency to the value of gold and silver.

Many of the early measures of the Bank were not, it is certain, of the wisest character; but the stockholders themselves suffered severely by the improvidence and fraudulent conduct of their first agents, and at no time since this institution went into operation, have its notes been dishonored. The expense and difficulties incurred by the Bank of the United States in establishing and upholding a specie currency, are clearly shown in an 'Exposition,' made by Mr. Cheves in 1822, a short time before resigning the Presidency, of which we shall freely avail ourselves.

When the National Bank went into operation, branches were placed in several States, whose currency did not sustain an

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equality with gold and silver. Its notes were every where received in payment of duties and taxes to the Government, without reference to the place of emission, and were redeemed in specie, at the banks, or any of its offices. It labored under the disadvantage, not only of issuing notes at a time when the currency in the specie-paying districts exceeded the coin, which would have circulated, and of being, therefore, constantly called on for gold and silver; but it sustained the still greater inconvenience of circulating notes, payable at pleasure in gold and silver, at places where a large portion of the medium of exchange was composed of inconvertible paper. This constituted the foundation of the suspended debt in the States of Ohio and Kentucky, which, at one time, exceeded six millions of dollars; though a considerable portion of it has been gradually liquidated by the sale of real estate, taken as security.

The notes issued in the Western States were immediately returned to the offices of the sea-board, and specie was rapidly drawn from the Bank; the Bank and the great Northern offices were constantly drained of their metallic capital, and only eighteen months after the institution began its operations, it was obliged 'to commence a rapid and heavy curtailment' of its business. Though the Bank enjoyed a government deposit of eight millions,—though specie had been imported at an expense exceeding half a million of dollars,—though curtailments of upwards of six millions and a half were made, between the 30th of July, 1818, and of April, 1819,—it was further obliged, in order to continue specie payments and maintain the metallic currency of the country, to sell between two and three millions of its public debt, and in various ways to attain the command of disposable means by reductions of its productive capital, within eight months, to the amount of upwards of eight millions of dollars.

In addition to these financial difficulties, the curtailments at the West rendered the Bank unpopular in that part of the Union, and subjected its operations to all those embarrassments, which the hostility of State authorities is capable of interposing. Yet, in spite of all the various obstacles with which it has had to contend, the *Bank has*, in the language of one of the Reports before us, *actually furnished a circulating medium more uniform than specie.* Funds may be removed from one part of the Union to another, through the aid which the Bank affords, at an expense not exceeding one half, and frequently

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less than one quarter of the cost of carrying silver. While, by the discretion of its present managers, no inconsiderable portion of the property supposed to have been sacrificed by their predecessors has been secured for its stockholders, the benefits of the institution are now most fully appreciated in those States, where every expedient, a few years since, was resorted to in order to expel its offices from their territorial limits. In Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, the Bank of the United States enjoys, with unimportant exceptions, a monopoly of the circulation; and their present prosperous situation, compared with the incessant bankruptcies attendant on their former condition, is, after the equalization of the currency, the best commentary on the good that the Bank has effected. Even since this institution has been placed under the ban of the Executive, Mississippi has repealed a law adverse to the National Bank, and invited a branch within the State, a course in which Tennessee had led the way.

The natural rate of exchange between two places, is the expense of transporting specie from one to the other, and this would exist, supposing the circulation of both to be equally well supplied, and their currencies estimated at the true par. For the Bank to undertake to redeem indiscriminately, at all its offices, the notes issued by the mother Bank and its various branches, would be to assume the expense of transporting silver and gold from one point of the Union to another, for the accommodation, not of the Government or the public in general, but of any individual who might choose to command its services. Its not undertaking this burden, to which it is not subjected either by the terms of its charter or the expectations of its founders, is supposed to have been the basis of the Executive charge against it.

What it has accomplished on this head, however, may be learned from the statements of the Congressional Committees.

'These notes (the notes of the National Bank) are receivable for the Government, by the nine thousand receivers, scattered throughout every part of the country. *They are in fact, in the course of business, paid in gold or silver, though they are not legally, or necessarily so paid, by the branches of the Bank in every section of the Union.* In all commercial places they are received, in all transactions, without any reduction in value, and never, under any circumstances, does the paper, from the remotest branches, vary beyond a quarter of one per cent. in its actual ex-

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change for silver. Here, then, is a currency as safe as silver, more convenient, and more valuable than silver, which, through the whole Western and Southern, and interior parts of the Union, is eagerly sought in exchange for silver; which in those sections, often bears a premium paid in silver; which is throughout the Union equal to silver in payments to the Government and payments to individuals in business, and which, whenever silver is needed in any part of the country, will command it, without the charge of more than a slight fraction of a per centage. By means of this currency, funds are transmitted at an expense less than in any other country. In no other country can a merchant do what every citizen of the United States can do—deposit, for instance, his silver at St. Louis, or Nashville, or New Orleans, and receive notes, which he can carry with him a thousand or fifteen hundred miles, to the Atlantic cities, and there receive for them an equivalent amount of silver, without any expense whatever; and in no possible event, an expense beyond a quarter of one per cent. If, however, a citizen does not wish to incur the anxiety of carrying these notes with him, or to run the hazard of the mail, he may, instead of them, receive a draft, payable to himself or his agent alone, so as to ensure the receipt of an equal amount, at an expense of not one half, and often not one fourth, of the actual cost of carrying the silver. The owner of funds, for instance, at St. Louis or Nashville, can transfer them to Philadelphia for one half per cent.; from New Orleans, generally, without any charge at all—at most, one half per cent.; from Mobile, from par to one half per cent.; from Savannah, at one half per cent.; and from Charleston, at from par to one quarter per cent.'—*Mr. Smith's Report.*

'If the whole circulating medium were specie, a planter of Louisiana, who should desire to purchase merchandise in Philadelphia, would be obliged to pay one per cent. either for a bill of exchange on this latter place, or for the transportation and insurance of his specie. His specie at New Orleans, where he had no present use for it, would be worth one per cent. less to him than it would be in Philadelphia, where he had a demand for it. But, by the aid of the Bank of the United States, one half of the expense of transporting specie is now saved to him. The Bank, for one half of one per cent. will give him a draft upon the mother Bank of Philadelphia, with which he can draw either the bills of that Bank, or specie, at his pleasure. In like manner, the Bank and its branches will give drafts from any point of the Union to any other where offices exist, at a per centage greatly less than it would cost to transport specie, and in many instances at par. If the merchant or planter, however, does not choose to purchase a draft

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from the Bank, but prefers transmitting the bills of the office where he resides to any distant point, for commercial purposes, although these bills are not strictly redeemable at the point to which they are transmitted, yet, as they are receivable in payment of all dues to the Government, persons will be generally found willing to take them at par; and if they should not, the Bank will receive them frequently at par, and always at a discount much less than would pay the expense of transporting specie.'

'It may be confidently asserted, that no country in the world has a circulating medium of greater uniformity than the United States; and that no country of any thing like the same geographical extent, has a currency at all comparable to that of the United States on the score of uniformity. The Committee have seen the statement of an intelligent traveller, who has visited almost every part of Europe, exhibiting the great variations of the currency in different parts of the same empire or kingdom. In Russia, the bills of the bank of St. Petersburgh have a very limited circulation. At Riga, and throughout Courland, Livonia, and all the southern parts of the empire, the currency is exclusively of silver coins. In Denmark, the notes of the Bank of Copenhagen are current only in Zealand, the other islands, and Jutland, but will not pass at all in Sleswick and Holstein, which constitute the best portion of the kingdom. Since the Congress of Vienna, Germany has been divided into thirty-nine separate States, each having a distinct currency, though represented in the Diet at Frankfort. Out of the territory in which these several currencies are issued, they are mere articles of merchandise; which circumstance has given rise in every town to a numerous and distinct class of tradesmen, called money-changers. How far those separate and unconnected currencies have a tendency to embarrass commerce, may be inferred from the fact, that a traveller going from St. Petersburgh to Calais will lose upon the unavoidable changes of money an average of six per cent. In France, the bills of the bank are of such large denominations as to be adapted only to the greater operations of commerce, and are principally confined to the bankers and extensive traders in Paris. The general currency is silver; and to avoid the trouble of carrying this to distant parts of the kingdom, gold pieces, or bills of exchange, which are preferable, are purchased at a premium of from one and a half to four per cent. After this brief review of the currencies of Europe, the Committee will barely state, as a conclusive vindication of our currency from the imputation of unsoundness, that there is no point in the Union, at which a bill of the United States Bank, issued at the opposite extremity of the country, is at a discount of more than one fourth of one per cent.'—*Mr. McDuffie's Report.*

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It is within the recollection of the writer of this article, that even at Havre, within a day's journey of the capital and its principal port of entry, the notes of the Bank of France are not received in ordinary transactions, but are sold at a discount.

It can, however, hardly be necessary to insist further on this point. The President, it is true, in 1829, considered the charge of a small commission for the transmission of the funds of individuals from one part of the Union to another, of sufficient importance to authorize him to declare, that the 'Bank had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency;' but inasmuch as the sale of bills of exchange is made the most prominent feature of the Treasury Bank, as new modelled in 1830, we have a right to conclude that the Executive has been convinced by the discussions of the last year, that he had previously fallen into an involuntary error respecting the nature of such operations.

The benefit, which we derive from the Bank, does not stop with its supplying a sound and uniform currency; it exercises a most salutary influence in restraining the excessive issues of local institutions,—the effect of whose overtrading must always recoil on their unfortunate dealers. A currency, it is true, cannot be, for a long period, excessively redundant. When paper is the circulating medium and is convertible on demand into specie, it becomes the interest of the bullion-merchants to export the coin, whenever it has a higher value than the notes with which it is concurrently employed; in the same way as when one metal is estimated higher than the other at the mint, the one which is comparatively underrated is withdrawn from use as money.

It was from overlooking this principle, that Mr. McDuffie was induced* to suppose, that when paper money became so redundant as to expel gold and silver from circulation, the depreciation from the excessive issues would affect the specie as well as the inconvertible paper. It is obvious, that in the case stated, gold and silver are no more parts of the circulating medium than precious stones or other merchandise, and that their only connexion with it, is to serve as a measure of its depreciation.

The consequences of an over-issue being the exportation of bullion, the banks are obliged, in order to avoid a drain of

* McDuffie's Report, p. 10.

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their metallic capital, either to curtail their discounts or to suspend their specie payments. The experience of the last war, in all the States South and West of Connecticut, shows that when there is a common agreement among the issuers of money, the power of demanding specie is but a dead letter. By law, most of our State institutions were liable to be called on for coin; but what was the popular feeling towards those few individuals, who resorted to their rights and asked the banks to fulfil their promises? The conduct pursued by these institutions, was, probably, unavoidable. No one of them possessing a controlling influence over the others, there was no means of regulating the quanity of paper put into circulation, and while every thing that purported to be money was indiscriminately received, the redundancy affected all notes alike, and even the specie, as long as it circulated concurrently with them.

But, even when an over-issue does not lead to the extreme measure of suspending specie payments, the embarrassment, caused by an excessive curtailment to all commercial enterprises, is frequently of the most calamitous nature. Such are the revulsions to which communities are exposed where paper circulates with coin, and such is the liability of all institutions of limited means to be destroyed by the panic, which is too likely to attend a reduction of discounts and a demand for specie, that it has often been made a question, whether the economy arising from a paper currency is not more than counterbalanced by the fluctuations in trade, which its use occasions. In illustration of the truth of this position, the greater stability of French commerce, as compared with that of England, has frequently been cited. But, without entering into an examination of this point, it may be confidently asserted, that to sustain a system of paper currency and afford relief for the imprudence of minor institutions, that salutary superintendence, which is virtually exercised by great banks like those of England and the United States, is essentially necessary.

Of the benefit that resulted from the interposition of the Bank of England, we have an example in 1825. The country bankers had engaged in such wild and extravagant speculations, that they had fifty per cent. more paper in circulation than in 1823. To this great redundancy, necessarily succeeded heavy drains of bullion, terminating in the failure of seventy establishments. How ruinous the reduction of the cur-

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rency attendant on these transactions would have been, without the application of the resources of a great institution, may be judged of by the fact, that the *vacuum*, caused by the withdrawal of these country notes,* absorbed from eight to ten millions of additional issues of the Bank. Had there not been such resources at hand, applied as well to the relief of the bankers themselves as of the merchants, the difficulty of procuring accommodation, under so extraordinary a contraction of the currency, must have ruined hundreds of commercial houses of the most undoubted solvency. Similar instances of the judicious interposition of the Bank of the United States, by affording relief to State institutions in various parts of the Union, will readily occur to all, who are conversant with our banking operations.

Not only has the power of the Bank been employed in remedying actual evils, but what is still more beneficial to the community, it has been applied, in innumerable cases, to prevent their occurrence. The statement of the mode in which the Bank regulates its dealings with the State institutions, as pointed out by the enlightened gentleman, now at the head of its concerns, has not been, as far as we are aware, questioned in any competent quarter.

'The great object, says Mr. Biddle, 'is to keep the State banks within proper limits; to make them shape their business according to their means. For this purpose they are called upon to settle; never forced to pay specie, if it can be avoided, but payment is taken in their bills of exchange, or suffered to lie occasionally until the bank can turn round; no amount of debt is fixed, because the principle we wish to establish is, that every bank should always be ready to provide for its notes.'

That the banks in our principal cities, and even those of the Eastern States severally, would continue the payment of specie, though the Bank of the United States should cease to exist, may well be admitted, without impairing the importance of that institution, as a check against the ruinous consequences of extravagant issues in those parts of the country, where the nature of paper-money is less perfectly understood. But not only have the rules, which control the monetary system, been disregarded in Tennessee and Kentucky, but we find in the

* The London and Lancashire bankers do not issue their own paper, but circulate that of the Bank of England.

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legislation of the largest and most commercial State of the Union, a project, evincing scarcely less ignorance of banking, than the chimerical schemes of our fellow-citizens at the West, so often held up to general animadversion. Our readers will understand us as alluding to the *Safety Fund*, introduced in 1829, in the State of New York, during the administration of Governor Van Buren. By the act referred to, all the banks are made, to a certain extent, partners and guarantees for one another, though in their management they are separate and independent. This system not only confounds frugality and providence with careless and extravagant speculation, but, as the contributions to the funds, on which insolvencies are chargeable, are regulated by the amount of the respective capitals, not of the circulation of the banks, the scheme carries unfairness on its face. It is obvious that it is much less probable that a bank of one million, issuing paper to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars, will fail to meet its engagements, than a bank of one hundred thousand dollars issuing notes to the same amount, and yet the latter pays for the privilege ten times the tax of the former.

The time has not yet arrived for the full developement of the effects of this measure. It may, however, be predicted, that, as it will give the same or nearly the same credit to the banks of the smallest capitals, as to those of the city of New York, the former institutions will be induced to issue their notes to an inordinate extent, not on regular business paper, the repayment of which would meet the calls for the redemption of their notes, but on loans on doubtful security and of indefinite duration. But while these excessive issues will degrade the value of the whole currency, as well specie as paper, and by rendering the exchange unfavorable, lead to the exportation of gold and silver, the institutions in good credit will be afraid to apply the efficient corrective,—a demand for specie, lest it should produce a declared insolvency, which they, not the culprit banks, would in the end be obliged to make good. Prudent banks finding that they are taxed for the improvidence of their neighbors, will also take the chance of profiting by fortunate speculations, the hazards of which they must, in any event, necessarily incur, and thus, especially if the United States Bank should not be rechartered, the whole monetary system may be thrown into inextricable confusion.

This topic is here introduced, to show that, even where

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there is apparently the least danger, we have much to apprehend from hasty and prejudiced legislation. What has occurred in New York, may well happen in Connecticut or Massachusetts; and when we reflect on the injury that may result from twenty-four districts and unconnected bodies operating through three hundred and fifty banks unchecked, on the currency, and varying its value, by incessantly altering its quantity, we may be disposed to admit the wisdom of placing it, even at the sacrifice of some State pride, under one general authority.

3. The dealing in foreign exchange is a business, which has excited much hostility against the Bank in some of our commercial cities; but, though transactions of this sort are not essentially requisite to enable the institution to support 'a uniform and sound currency,' it is believed, that while they are powerful auxiliaries to that end, they are also productive of many direct benefits.

We have already seen, that where paper is convertible into specie on demand, an excessive issue degrades not only the bank notes, but also the coin circulating concurrently with them, which leads to a drain of the metallic money and its exportation, till such time as, by the contraction thus produced, the currency re-assumes its former value. Indeed, the occasional exportation of specie cannot be prevented by the best regulations which can be adopted. Even when the quantity of the currency remains the same, the vicissitudes of harvests, and the political and other causes, which affect the state of the exchanges, must lead to the exportation of gold and silver, when they can be sent abroad more advantageously than other commodities. It is, therefore, evident that the metallic basis for the circulation, must vary according to the demands for specie to which a bank is liable. The statements made by many of the local institutions of our country, do not represent their specie as exceeding in amount the sixth or seventh part of their circulation, and in many cases, it is even less than in the proportion of one to ten. The present entire circulation of the United States has been estimated by Mr. Gallatin, at $73,500,000, including $10,000,000 in silver coins and bank drafts, issued by the United States Bank and its branches, and excluding deposits and private bills of exchange. The bank notes are sustained by specie in the vaults, and which is not comprised in the above calculations, to the amount of $22,000,000. To an establishment, which, like the Banks of

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England and the United States, is the ultimate regulator of the currency, and which, without possessing the monopoly of circulation, is liable to have specie demanded in consequence of the over-issues of other banks, a large amount of gold and silver is absolutely requisite. Even the Bank of France, which is exposed to but little inconvenience from the redundancy of the currency, as paper does not form a part of the ordinary circulating medium, had, in 1828, a specie reserve of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions, to sustain an emission varying from one hundred and ninety to two hundred and thirty millions. The Bank of England generally retains specie in its vaults to one half the amount of the notes which it is liable to be called on to redeem, and when, in consequence of the continued run upon it, its metallic capital was reduced so as to be equal only to the one seventh part of the bills in circulation, a suspension of payments was deemed necessary. The published statements of the Bank of the United States will show a still greater proportion of specie, as compared with notes, than is possessed by the English institution. But as, when specie is drawn from the vaults, it must be because it is more in demand abroad than at home, our National Bank is enabled, by dealing in foreign exchange, to dispense with some portion of the gold and silver, which would otherwise be kept in an unproductive state. It appears from the papers before us, that the Bank had on April 1st, 1830, $9,043,748 in specie, and funds in Europe to the extent of $2,789,498, which are justly considered in the estimate as equivalent to specie; for in case of a depreciation arising from a redundancy of the currency, no one wishing gold or silver for exportation, would refuse to take a draft from the Bank of the United States on its correspondents in London and Paris; nor would the relief from this source be limited to the mere extent of its actual balances abroad. Its credit would, and often has enabled it to draw bills vastly beyond the amount of its deposits with Baring & Hottinguer, to the great assistance of the commercial interest, when laboring under temporary embarrassments from over-trading. Thus a great amount of capital, otherwise necessarily unemployed in the vaults of the banks and its offices, is made efficient for the advantage of the institution, and of course for the increase of the productive resources of the country at large.

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If it be important to have a sound and uniform domestic currency, it cannot be immaterial to preserve something like stability in the bills of exchange, which form, in a certain sense, the general currency of the world. Merchants are thus enabled to make more accurate calculations as to the operations in which they engage, and are, in a great measure, relieved from the fluctuations in the price of the paper by which they meet engagements contracted in other countries. Though it be true, that the real exchange is ultimately regulated by the expense of transporting specie from one country to another, yet the greater or less demand and supply of bills produce considerable oscillations from this central point.* Not only are these variations restrained through the influence of the Bank in preventing an export of specie arising from a redundancy of currency, but that institution being always able to go, with its great resources, into the market both as a buyer and seller, the fluctuations are reduced within the smallest limits. From the peculiar situation of our country, the exports being to a very considerable extent made from the South, and the importations received at the Northern ports, this branch of business is attended with great convenience to the planters, who would otherwise be subjected to the expense and risk of circuitous transactions, accompanied with all the charges of double commissions. Again, as there is no re-exchange in Europe on this country, it contributes, in no small degree, to the convenience of Americans, who have occasion for the remission of funds to Europe, to have an office to which they can apply, with the certainty of obtaining bills universally entitled to the same confidence as the precious metals. The only objection that we can conceive against the Bank's continuing to deal in exchange, must arise from its interfering with the profits of a few capitalists in the large towns. But as they are the individuals who have the deepest interest in upholding a sound currency, we can hardly expect from them an opposition to those transactions of this national

* It is important to distinguish the real from the nominal exchange. Owing to the errors in the original calculations at the Mint, and to the employment of silver *practically* as our standard, while gold is that of England, the true par is $4,75 to the pound sterling, instead of $4,44, as assumed by law. Thus there is a difference of seven per cent. between the real and nominal exchange; that is, exchange on London is really at *par*, when it is nominally at seven per cent. premium.

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institution, which, while they promote the general convenience of the country, are particularly acceptable to that portion of the Union, which is dissatisfied, (with what reason we shall not now inquire,) with the legislation of Congress on another most important subject. But, though we do not go so far as to suppose with Mr. McDuffie, that the whole *nominal* exchange between two places, which during the last war sometimes amounted to twenty-five or thirty per cent., is gained by the brokers,—a mistake clearly pointed out in our last number,—we cannot consent that the general good shall be sacrificed to the particular interest of the dealers in exchange.

4. The advantages of the Bank in facilitating the fiscal operations of the State are either direct or indirect. Among the former, the most prominent are the receipt and disbursement of the public revenue; and we have the testimony of the venerable Senator who presides over the Committee of Finance for saying, that, although nine thousand persons are employed in collecting this revenue, which, during ten years preceding January 1st, 1830, amounted to an aggregate of $230,068,855, it was, through the agency of the Bank, received and distributed without an expense or loss to the Government of a single dollar. Besides transferring the public funds from place to place, without any allowance for commissions or exchange, its officers gratuitously perform the duties of Commissioners of Loans, and render services of the same nature with those, for which the Bank of England is paid by the Government of that country an annual sum of £270,000 sterling.

But the benefit of the Bank does not stop here. From its capital and extensive resources, it is always able to afford Government any temporary loans, which the country may need, and on terms far more advantageous than individuals or private corporations can supply them. In time of war, by lending to the contractors on a pledge of public stock, until there is an opportunity for distributing it among the capitalists of the country, it extends the competition for government loans, and thus raises the price of these securities, to the great advantage of the nation. By frequently repeating this operation, it enables the State to borrow to an extent infinitely beyond the capital of the Bank. The benefit constantly derived by the Government of England from its bank, though frequently managed on erroneous principles, is to be found in every page of the financial history of the last century. Without its aid, it is

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hardly probable that England would have been able to cope, during a quarter of a century, single-handed, with the coalesced forces of the world. And it is here proper to remark, that, though modifications have been suggested in its charter, which will expire in 1833, there is great unanimity among the statesmen of that country as to the importance of continuing it on a basis, not essentially different from that on which it at present exists. Even before the achievement of our independence, and under the imperfect confederacy of the revolution, a bank was established and rendered essential service to our embarrassed treasury. On the adoption of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton considered 'a National Bank, an institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the finances.' One was accordingly formed under the sanction of Washington, and was not a little instrumental in relieving the country from the overwhelming embarrassments to which our credit had been subjected by the suspension of all regular industry during the revolutionary war, and the improvident issue of irredeemable paper money. Had not this bank been suffered to expire at the termination of the period for which it was originally chartered, we have the deliberate opinion of the able and experienced financier,* who presided over the Treasury department at the commencement of the war of 1812, that 'it would have prevented the suspension of specie payments.' Certain it is, that the facilities, which the capital of this institution might have given to the operations of Government and of those with whom the Government dealt, and which, necessarily, were but imperfectly supplied by the local banks, would have prevented the national credit from falling to the degraded condition, in which the treaty of Ghent found it.

We have concluded all that we proposed saying on the operations of the Bank. There are two points, however, on which we would beg leave to make a few remarks before closing our article.

1. If we suppose, with Mr. McDuffie, that the power 'to coin money, and regulate the value thereof,' implies an authority to regulate the currency, even when it is composed wholly or principally of paper, it is the duty of Congress not to omit to legislate on the subject. We do not mean to assert, that there can never be a concurrent authority vested in the

* Albert Gallatin.

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General and State Governments. But we are to remember, that, beside the power delegated to Congress by the clause of the Constitution already cited, there is an express prohibition on the States to 'emit bills of credit.' By virtue of this provision, an act of Missouri, to authorize the issue of two hundred thousand dollars in certificates of denominations not exceeding ten dollars, nor less than fifty cents, and receivable in taxes and other debts due the State, though they were not a legal tender, was last year declared unconstitutional.* We think that bank notes, not guarantied by a State, may be distinguished from the certificates under consideration; but this was not the opinion of the judges who dissented from the majority; and it is, at all events, evident that, consistently with the opinion of the Supreme Court, the States are not competent to furnish a sound currency, even if the other difficulties to which we have alluded, did not present insuperable obstacles.

2. The other point, to which we would allude, is a suggestion that we have sometimes heard, that Congress would decline renewing the charter of the present Bank, with the intention of incorporating a new one on similar principles. In favor of such a proceeding, we cannot discover a single valid argument; while the destructive consequences to the dealers with the Bank, of the sudden withdrawing of the ordinary accommodations, must be obvious to all; and as an interval, more or less considerable, must occur between the termination of one institution and the commencement of the other, there will be sufficient opportunity for a recurrence of those derangements in the currency, of which the preceding pages furnish but too many illustrations. Our respect for the two houses of Congress forbids our entertaining, for a moment, the idea that the Legislature would sanction such a course, for the mere purpose of promoting speculation. It has, indeed, been stated, as a pretext for opposition to the Bank, that a large portion of the capital is owned abroad, and that neither the foreign nor other stockholders are entitled to a continued monopoly. This remark reminds us of the reasons usually assigned for rotation in public employments. It proceeds on the ground, that the Bank and the offices of Government are not established, because certain services are required to be performed for the good of the community, but are created for the sole benefit of the stockholders

* 4 Peters, 410.

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or incumbents. But if we are to try the question of re-chartering the Bank on the merits of its stockholders, we should recollect, that its present proprietors are composed of original subscribers, and of persons who purchased stock at the market price of the day. When the books were first opened, no favor was shown, and, so far from any person's being deprived of an opportunity to become a stockholder, there was not a subscription adequate to the proposed capital. Those who subsequently made themselves stockholders, gave for their shares a price which was fixed by the probable profits, stability, and permanence of the institution. If Congress should decline to continue the Bank, there will be no violation of any contract, but neither the original proprietors nor subsequent purchasers will have much cause to congratulate themselves on their investments. The average dividends of the United States Bank, from its establishment to the 1st of January, 1820, were only 4,88-100 per cent. per annum; while those of the Bank of England, excluding twenty-five per cent. added as capital in 1816, and *bonuses*, which, between 1799 and 1826, amounted to £3.783.880, were, from 1767 to 1781, five and a half per cent.; from 1781 to 1788, six per cent.; from 1788 to 1807, seven per cent.; from 1807 to 1823, ten per cent.; since 1823, they have been eight per cent. With respect to the existence of a foreign interest, which has been urged against the Bank of the United States, we will only remark, that all persons, except citizens, are prohibited from participating, even by their votes for directors, in the government of the institution; and until we determine to proceed in opposition to the policy of every enlightened government that has ever existed, we cannot consider it a serious objection to the National Bank, that it attracts to the country capital, to be employed in accommodations to our Government or its citizens, and thus liberates an equal amount of domestic resources, which may be directly appropriated to the promotion of the great interests of AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.

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Note. Since the article on the Origin and Progress of the French Language was printed, we have received from the learned and elegant correspondent, to whom we are indebted for it, the following note, which was accidentally omitted by him in making up the copy. The passage to which it refers, is on the 308th page.

'A controversy has existed in regard to the authenticity of the poems attributed to Clotilde de Surville, which were published recently from manuscripts received as ancient, but supposed by some critics to be forgeries of the same description with those of Chatterton. The following remarks on the subject, are by the Editor of the *Poètes François jusqu' à Malherbe.*

" Les poésies de Clotilde offrent l'entrelacement des rimes masculines et féminines, règle à laquelle Marot, qui vécut cent ans après elle, ne se conforma jamais. La naïveté, la vérité des sentiments, la propriété des expressions, la liaison toujours naturelle des idées, beaucoup d'art dans les transitions, un style aussi élégant que correct, voilà ce qui frappe le plus dans les poésies de Clotilde; et ce sont aussi toutes ces qualités, qu'on ne retrouve dans aucun écrivain du temps, qui ont fait mettre en doute si elle en étoit véritablement l'auteur.' In a note, he adds; 'On peut voir dans l'édition des poésies de Clotilde, publiée par M. Vanderbourg en 1802, in-8°, et réimprimée en 1804, in-12, les faits parfaitement établis de cette intéressante critique littéraire."

'Bouterwek thinks that there is "no well grounded presumption" against the authenticity of these poems. If they be forgeries, the author was considerate enough to imitate, not only the ancient orthography of the age in which Clotilde lived, but the orthography of the south of France, where she was born and educated. Her mother was attached to the court of 'Gaston Phœbus, Comte de Foix et de Béarn;' and we find, on examination, that the orthography of Clotilde coincides precisely with that used in the poems of the abovenamed Gaston de Foix. They have pre-eminently the nasal *g*, which is seen also in the writings of Montaigne, and *heard* even at this day in the mouths of Southern Frenchmen. This *ung*, for *un*, and *besoing* for *besoin*, etc. etc. occur in both these authors; whereas Alain Chartier, who imputes to Clotilde a rustic air, and who was a Norman, and studied at Paris, has a very different orthography in this and other respects.'

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INDEX

TO THE

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

A.

Abydos, tablet of, account of its discovery, 106.

Adams, John, his remark on the commercial marine of Great Britain, 422.

Addison's Cato, quoted, 451.

Akenside, Pleasures of Imagination by, quoted, in regard to beauty, 449.

Akerblad, his attempt to decypher the enchorial inscription upon the Rosetta stone, 112.

Alexander the Great, his conduct towards the Jews, 248—treasures and expenditures of, and wealth of his successors, 349.

Alison, opinion of, in regard to beauty, 449.

American Scenery, Mr Cooper's descriptions of, 521.

Anatomy, address of the Massachusetts Medical Society upon the subject of, reviewed, 64—legal provisions in regard to, 64—report of a committee of the Legislature upon, 66—importance of a knowledge of, and the necessity of acquiring it by dissection, 67—how the law may be framed, in order to permit physicians to acquire this knowledge, 69 et seq.—delicacy of the question, and the plan by which its difficulties may be obviated, 70—the mass of the people more benefited than physicians by the diffusion of a knowledge of, 72.

Antiquary, The, its first reception by the public, 411—its characters, 412—its merit, 413.

Apothecaries, manner in which they were allowed to practise physic in England, 381.

Art of Preserving Beauty, reviewed, 444—character of the work, 445—quoted, 448.

Assignats, calamities resulting from the issue of, in France, 538.

Athens, economy of, 344 et seq.—character of the society of, 344—circulating medium of, 348—coinage of, 350—mode of conducting the public affairs of, 352—trade and business of, 354—commercial system of, 355—number and style of the houses of, and value of slaves in, 356—prices, expenses and fashions in, 359—sums paid for instruction, and rate of interest at, 361—public expenditure and public edifices of, 362—police and festivals of, 363—salaries of public officers in, 364—support of the poor in, 365—public rewards, revenue, and character of the democracy of, 366.

Attica, square contents of, 351—estimate of the population of, 352—manner in which population was distributed, and of the soil, products, and arts of, 352—commerce of, 354—value of land in, 356—policy of, in regard to the trade in corn, 357—productiveness of, and prices in, 358—wages of labor and expense of travelling in, 360.

Augius, M. discourse of, on the origin and progress of the poetic language of France, quoted, 310.

Author of Redwood, her power of observation and description, 74—purity of her style, and moral beauty of her works, 75.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

B.

Babylonians, state of sculpture among the, 7.

Bank of the United States, report of the Committee of Ways and Means in Congress upon the, examined, 21—extent of the power and privileges of the, and the manner in which they have been used, 22—liberality of the conduct of the, towards the local banks, 23—claims of the, too exclusively urged by its advocates, 23—the want of a, not the cause of the derangement of the currency during the war, 44—aid afforded by the, in the restoration of credit after the war, though it was not the cause of the restoration, 50—neither is, nor ought to be intrusted with power to regulate the currency, 50—does not preserve the soundness of the currency, 53—value of the, in equalizing the rates of domestic exchange, 55—and in the collection and disbursement of the revenue, 58—but these objects not effected without cost to the government, 59—not desirable, in case of war, as a means of supporting the credit of the government, 63—subject of, again examined, 524—nature of the business performed by the, 525—plan of a, proposed by the President in his Message to Congress, 543—objections to the plan, 544—what was the principal motive for chartering the present, 545—mismanagement of, at the outset, 548—causes of its difficulties, 549—benefits which have resulted from the, 550—check imposed by the, upon the issues of the local banks, 553—mode in which it deals with the local banks, 555—benefits arising from its dealing in exchange, 557—by the stability which it creates, 559—the facility which it gives to the fiscal operations of the State, 560—of the experience of our country on this subject, 561—impolicy of suffering it to expire, with the view of creating another on similar principles, 562—its dividends, 563.

Banks, State, not liable to the charge of having abused their power, 31—contrary to their interests to do so, 32—withheld also from doing it by the laws of the several States, 33—cannot change the standard of value, 42—condition and credit during the last war, of those of Massachusetts, and the South, 46.

Banks of Deposit, reasons for establishing, and effect of, 535.

Bank-bills, distinction between, and paper money, 40.

Basselin, Olivier, short account of, 305.

Beaujolais, Count of, his death, 208.

Beauty, Art of Preserving, reviewed, 444—opinions of Akenside, Alison and Jeffrey, in regard to the principle of, 449—error of their theory, 450—true principle of, 452—best mode of preserving, 453.

Beatrix de Montferrat, anecdote of, 297, *note*.

Bertrand de Born, his troubadour war-song, quoted, 289.

Biddle, Mr., his statement of the course adopted by the Bank of the United States towards the local banks, quoted, 555.

Black Dwarf, The, remarks upon, 415.

Blackwood's Magazine, its review of Guy Mannering, alluded to, 410.

Boeckh, his work on the public economy of the Athenians, reviewed, 344—its character and merits, 346, 366.

Boileau, his lines on Villon, quoted, 309.

Bouterwek, quotation from Rabelais, given by, 314.

Borromeo, the real founder of Sunday schools, 462, *note*.

Boston Medical Association, rules and regulations of the, reviewed, 367—beneficial effects resulting from the rules of the, 385.

Buckland, Dr., account of his lecture on Geology, on horseback, 472—et seq.

Burke, principle of beauty advanced by, 452.

Byron, Lord, his character of the Pirate in Don Juan, 513.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

C.

Cambreleng, Mr., objections to the tone of his report as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, 137—his speech in reply to Mr. Gorham, 141.

Canova, statue of Washington by, 2—monument of the Princess of Saxe Teschen at Vienna by, 5—his style of sculpture, 6.

Cazeneuve, quotation from, 282, *note*—quotation from, in regard to the change of the Roman Rustic, 292.

Celts, language of the, has probably perished, 278.

Chalmers' annals of the Colonies, illiberality of, towards the early settlers of this country, 179.

Champollion, his hieroglyphic system examined, 95—importance of his discoveries, with some account of them, 109—his controversy with Dr. Young, 113—his letter to M. Dacier, 118—his Précis du Système Hièroglyphique, 123—his inquiry into the antiquity of the Zodiac of Denderah, 123—his visit to Egypt, 124.

Channing, Dr., his views in regard to imprisonment for debt, 499.

Chantrey, statue of Washington by, 2—Two Infants by, 5—his adherence to historical truth, 6.

Character, importance of the power of delineating, to the novelist, 512.

Charles Edward, real character of, 408.

Chartier, Alain, his remark concerning Clotilde de Surville, 308.

Chassignet, his version of the Psalms, quoted, 317.

Chaucer, his translation of the Romaunt of the Rose, quoted, 303.

Child, Sir Josiah, his opinion of the British navigation act, 426.

Chison, Jacques de, character of his poetry, 301.

Circulating Medium, how it becomes other than specie, 34.

Clarence, reviewed, 73—sketch of the story of, 81 et seq.—objections to, 84, 85—its merits, 88—its delineation of character, 90.

Claverhouse, his character, 416.

Clergy of Mexico, their number and influence, 334—their charities, 335—their conduct during the revolution, 336.

Climate, its effect on the cultivation of the fine arts, 8—upon man, 10—manner in which this last effect is counteracted by the modern facilities of international communication, 11.

Clotilde de Surville, her poems quoted 308—question in regard to the authenticity of her works, 564, *note*.

Coin, effect of the debasement of the, and means of preventing it, 36—not regarded as synonymous with currency by the framers of the Constitution, 37.

Committee of Ways and Means, report of the, on the Bank of the United States in the House of Representatives in Congress, reviewed, 21—evident partiality of its tone, 24—its doctrines in regard to money and the currency, 25—its position, that excessive issues of paper degrade the value of the whole currency, including gold and silver, examined and refuted, 28—the bad effect of excessive issues, 29—its assertion, that the local banks have abused their power, shewn to be erroneous, because contrary to their interests, 32—its statement, that *coin* is used in the Constitution as synonymous with *currency*, examined, 37—shown to be erroneous, 38—its statement, that the derangement of the currency was remedied by the Bank of the United States, refuted, 43—its estimate of the profits of brokers during the late war, shown to be incorrect, 56—its report again noticed, 524—quoted, 542—quoted, in regard to the benefits resulting from the Bank of the United States, 551.

Committee of Commerce, report of the, reviewed, 127—impropriety of its tone, 137—defects of its argument pointed out, 139—its want of clearness, 140—its assertion, that our navigation has remained stationary since the war, refuted, 148 et seq.—its mistake in regard to the amount of British tonnage, 155 et seq.

Committee of Finance in the United

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States' Senate, report of the, reviewed, 524—quoted, 542—quoted, showing the advantages arising from the Bank of the United States, 550.
Common Currency, how regulated by the nature of business, 26—causes of its degradation during the last war, 44—ordinary causes of its debasement, 54.
Congress, constitutional power not vested in, to regulate any substitute for coined currency, 41.
Cooper, President, his view of the benefits arising from the introduction of domestic manufactures, quoted, 129.
Cooper, Mr., Water-Witch by, 508—reasons which have affected the public judgment in regard to, 509—not an imitator of Scott, 510—his descriptive power, 515—his nautical descriptions, 516—his deficiency in delineating character, 517—particularly the New England character, 518—of certain of his characters, 519—his description of American scenery, 521—his style and construction of his story, 522—merit and defects of the Water-Witch, 523.
Copper, employment of, as a currency, 527—qualities of different kinds of, 528.
Crawford, Mr., his estimate of the amount of the currency in the United States in 1813 and 1815, 547.
Credit System, evils attending the, 507.
Cræsus, pious offerings of, 349.
Currency of the United States, bills of exchange, how far used as, 534—estimate of the amount of at various periods, 547—estimate at the present time, 557.
Cyril Thornton, its superiority to most of the novels of the day, 406.
Cyrus, restoration of the Jews to their country by, 248.

D.

D'Alembert, account of, by Madame de Genlis, 201.
David, King, his character, 239—glory of his reign, 240—influence of his character on the prosperity of his country, 241—state of civilization among the Jews in the reign of, 242—his devotional poetry, 242, 243.
De la Beche, Henry, his merit as a geologist, 486.
Demosthenes, his oration for the crown, 18—his expense in living, 360.
De Pauw, quoted, 533, *note*.
Descort troubadour, quoted, 298.
Description, power of, essential to the novelist, 512.
Domestic Manufactures, benefits arising from the introduction of, to the United States, 127—difficulty attending their establishment, how overcome, 131—effect of legislative aid upon, 132—mode in which protecting duties operate upon, 133—decline of navigation, the only evil incident to the growth of, 134—effect of the growth of, in increasing internal trade, 145.
Drafts on bankers, how far used as currency, 536.
Druids, manner in which the religion of the, was preserved, 278.
Duclos, his memoir on the origin and progress of the French language, reviewed, 277.
Dutch, extent and importance of the commerce of the, in the 17th century, 424—effect of the British navigation act upon the trade of the, 426.

E.

Eaton, Amos, his geological textbook, reviewed, 471—reasons why his works have not been criticised earlier, 482—opinion entertained of him abroad, 483—inelegance of his style, 485—his mistakes exposed, 487 et seq.
Edgeworth, Miss, her works of fiction, 386—her good sense, 397—her want of personal beauty, 449—her delineation of Irish character, 514.
Edinburgh Review, injustice of its censure of Champollion, 106, *note*—its unjust treatment of Mr. Sadler, 219, *note*—its opinion alluded to, that commercial shipping is not necessary to the support of a powerful navy, 422.
Egyptians, character of sculpture among the, 7—use of hieroglyph-

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical signs by the, after the invention of alphabetical characters, 98—revenue of the, 349.
Eusebius, chronicle of, 105.
Evening Post, New York, its assertion, that the protecting policy is regarded as pernicious by enlightened men, refuted, 138.
Everett, Mr. his letter respecting imprisonment for debt, quoted, 501.

F.

Fine Arts, influence of the political constitution of Greece upon the cultivation of the, 17—effect of our own institutions upon the, 19—and of employing them in the service of religion, 20.
Foreign Bills, a part of the currency of the commercial world, 534—benefits arising from dealing in, by the United States Bank, 557.
Foreign trade of the United States, its increase since the war, 146.
Francis I., influence of his character on French language and literature, 309—his letter to Mademoiselle d'Heilli, quoted, 313.
Franks, extent of the conquests of the, 280.
Frederic II. of Germany, his mild treatment of the Jews, 259.
French Language, sketch of the history of the origin and progress of the, 277 et seq.—sources from which it was derived, 278—when it first assumed the name, 293—estimation in which it was early held in England, 294—its improvement, 301—influence of Francis I. upon its progress, 309—its improvement by Montaigne, and his opinion concerning it, 314, 315—its superiority as a colloquial language, and inferiority in elevated poetry, 316—work of Ménage upon it, 317.
Froissart, Jean, Rondel by, quoted, 304.

G.

Galileo, his labor and success in the pursuit of natural science, 472.
Gallatin, Mr., his estimate of the currency of the country at various periods, 547.
Galt, Mr., his specimen of New England character, 518.
Gaul, change in the language of, 278.
Gascoigne, General, his motion for an inquiry into the state of British shipping, 432.
Genlis, Madame de, memoirs of, reviewed, 196—their character, 197—biographical sketch of, 198 et seq.—her marriage, 200—her description of D'Alembert and Rousseau, 201—her residence at the *Palais Royal*, 203—her interview with Voltaire, 204—her appointment to educate the children of the Duke of Orleans, 205—account of some of her works, 206—her visit to England, 207—her banishment at the beginning of the French Revolution, 208—her interview with Klopstock, 209—her return to France, and treatment by Napoleon, 211—general notice of her works, 212—her personal character, 213.
Geological Text-book, Eaton's, reviewed, 471—notice of the character of the work, 482 et seq.—quoted, 485 et seq.—its wood cuts, 488.
Geology, Dr. Buckland's lecture, on horseback, on, 472—attention paid to, at the University of Oxford, 473—a more attractive subject than astronomy, and why, 475—what is properly comprehended in the term, 477—utility and importance of the study of, 479—zeal with which it is pursued abroad, and reason why it is neglected here, 480.
German Metaphysicians, their error in attempting to settle the principles of taste, 3.
Gold, value and extent of its use in Greece, 351.
Goldsmith, beauty of his style, 406.
Graham's History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America till the British Revolution in 1688, reviewed, 174—neglect of the work in this country, 175—its value, 176.
Great Britain, causes of Mr. Cambreleng's mistake in regard to the navigation of, 158—influence of, in Mexico, 341—importance of the marine of, and its condition at various periods, 423—Sir Walter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Raleigh's observations in regard to the commerce of, 423—provisions of the navigation act of, 425—and its effects, 426—tonnage of, at various times, 427, 428—reasons of mistake in estimating the tonnage of, 429—its present amount, 431.

Greece, beauty of the climate of, 8—mythology of, 20—difficulty in writing the history of, 340—circulating medium of, 348—expense of travelling in, 360.

Greeks, causes of the perfection of statuary among the ancient, 3—their first lessons in sculpture derived from the Egyptians, 7—their climate, and its influence on the cultivation of the fine arts, 8—public exhibition of their works of sculpture, 9—operation of their institutions and manners upon the fine arts, 12—their gymnastic exercises, 13—their employment of statuary in the service of religion, 20.

Greppo's Essay on the Hieroglyphic System of Champollion, Jr. reviewed, 95—character of the work, 96.

Guy Mannering, its success and character, 410—effect produced by it, 411.

H.

Hamilton, his letter quoted, in regard to imprisonment for debt, 495.

Harleian Mss., song extracted from the, 294, *note*.

Harvard College, its origin, 193.

Heart of Mid-Lothian, truth of its story, 418—moral effect of the, 420.

Herodotus, his account of the destruction of the Assyrian armies, 108.

Heyne, his translation of the Greek inscription on the Rosetta stone, 110.

Hieroglyphical Signs, the earliest form of writing, abandoned after the discovery of alphabetical characters, by all nations but the Egyptian, 98.

Higden's Polychronicon, quotation from, 294.

Hitchcock, Professor, his merit as a naturalist, 481.

Home Trade, benefits of an increase of the, 145.

Homer, his poems how preserved, 103.

Horapollo, his work on hieroglyphics, 107.

Humboldt, injustice of the charge against, of giving false accounts of, 323.

Huskisson, Mr., his speech in the House of Commons, reviewed, 422—his treatment of General Gascoigne's motion for an inquiry into the state of British shipping, 436.

Hutchinson, Mrs. character of, 188.

I.

Imprisonment for Debt, abolished by Solon, 351—subject of, examined, 490—extent to which it is carried, and its inefficacy, 491—laws of New Hampshire and Massachusetts respecting, 494—abolished in Kentucky and Ohio, 495—letter of Hamilton concerning, 495—remedies for the evil of, 497—letter of Mr. Webster respecting, 497—views of Dr. Channing in regard to, 499—Judge Jackson's letter concerning, 500—Mr. Everett's letter respecting, 501—objections to Mr. Webster's plan in regard to the abolition of, 504—ought to be wholly abolished, 507.

Infant Schools first introduced by Oberlin, 461.

Inland Bills of exchange, to what extent used as currency, 534.

Irving, Mr., his description of New England character, 518.

Ivanhoe, effect produced by its representation of the Hebrew character, 260.

J.

Jackson, Judge, his letter relating to imprisonment for debt, 500.

Jefferson, Mr., his error on the subject of Jewish history, 252.

Jeffrey, article on beauty by, alluded to, 449.

Jews, value of the early history of the, as a record of life and manners, 235—its air of truth,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

236—explanation of their treatment of the Canaanitish nations, 237—misapprehensions in regard to the character of their law, 237—their glory in the reign of David, and anarchy under the Judges, 240—their state of civilisation in the reign of David, 242—why separated from other nations, 246—their character during the captivity, 248—their restoration to their country by Cyrus, 248—their suffering the consequence of their own misconduct, 249—character of their history since the destruction of Jerusalem, 253—policy of Mahomet towards them, 257—state of literature among them, 260—estimate of their numbers, 263—impracticability of converting them to Christianity, 264.

Johnson, Col. his exertions to abolish imprisonment for debt, 504.

Johnson, Dr., poetical character of his mind, 406.

Josephus, error of prevailing impressions in regard to, 251.

Julius Africanus, his chronology, 105.

K.

Kentucky, imprisonment for debt abolished in, 495.

King, Dr., his prejudiced account of Charles Edward, 408.

Klopstock, Madame de Genlis's account of, 209.

Kircher, Father, his works on hieroglyphics, 100—his explanation of those on the Pamphilian obelisk, 101.

L.

La Harpe, his opinion of Marot, 310.

L'Ami, Art of preserving Beauty by, reviewed, 444.

Language, one of the greatest miracles of art, 97—origin of written, 97.

Langue d'Oc, allusion to the, 282—supposed to be now a dead language, 291.

Latin, decline in the purity of the, 278.

Law, Mr., his augmentation of the currency of France, 537—its ruinous effects, 538.

Leger, history of the Waldensian churches by, mentioned, 287.

Leibnitz, his claim to the merit of the discovery of fluxions, 113.

Livy, quoted, 333, *note*.

London College of Physicians, rigor of the rules of the, 380—manner in which they have been evaded, 381—absurdity of its charter, 383.

Lorris, Guillaume de, his Romaunt of the Rose, 301—his death, 304.

Louis le Germanique, Serment de, quoted, 282.

Louis Philip I., his character in infancy, as given by Madame de Genlis, 206.

M.

Mahomet, policy of, towards the Jews, 257.

Maine, law of, in regard to imprisonment for debt, 504.

Malherbe, character and merits of, and anecdote concerning, 313.

Malthus, his essay on population, and its errors, 217.

Manetho, his work on the history of Egypt, 105.

Marbles, different qualities of Grecian, 15—of the Italian, 16—of those of the United States, 17.

Marot, Clement, character of his poetry, 310—his Friar Lubin, quoted, 311.

Marshall, Life of Washington, by, quoted, in regard to the effect of excessive issues of paper-money, 540.

Maryland, law of, in regard to imprisonment for debt, 504.

Masada, account of its capture by the Romans, 253.

Massachusetts Medical Society, address to the community by, on the subject of legalizing the study of anatomy, reviewed, 64—some account of the proceedings of the, in relation to that subject, 65—title of the, to public gratitude, for the part they have taken, 73—manner in which it is organized, 384—its beneficial results, 385.

Massachusetts, law of, in regard to imprisonment for debt, 494.

McClure's Sketches, merit of, 480.

McDuffie, Mr. his report upon the Bank of the United States, 21 (See Committee of Ways and Means)—his speech on a bill for the more faithful collection of the

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public revenue, reviewed, 127—his mistake in regard to an article in a former number of the North American Review, 147—his theory, that the planter or producer of agricultural exports pays the duties on the British manufactures received in exchange, shown to be fallacious, 161 et seq.

Mechanic Arts, estimation in which they were held in Attica, 353.

Medical Profession, character and abuses of the, 367—effect of public prejudice against the, 368—of unfavorable effects which have been attributed to the influence of the, 369—propriety of the course pursued by the, in regard to irregular practitioners, 370—of remedies introduced by persons not belonging to the, 371—manner in which these remedies should be tested, 372—liberal course pursued by the, in regard to new remedies, 373—reasons of the incredulity of the, in regard to new remedies, 374—sensitiveness of the, and divisions in the, 375—beneficence of the, to the poor, 379—condition of the, here and in England, 380.

Memoirs, those of Madame de Genlis, reviewed, and estimate of the value of this species of literature, 196—those of Madame de Genlis, quoted, 201, 204, 206, 209, 210.—those of Oberlin reviewed, 453—and quoted, 456 et seq.—their character, 471.

Menage, his work on the French language alluded to, 317.

Mephistopheles, review of Mr. Cambreleng's report by, 127.

Mercantile System, fallacy of the, 147.

Meun, Jean de, his character, and anecdote concerning him, 304.

Mexicans, picture-writing of the, 125.

Mexico, foreign relations of, 317 et seq.—character of the politics of, since the revolution, 318—spirit of speculation excited by the freedom of, 319—of foreign mining companies in, 320—course adopted by the Spanish government of, in regard to mining, 321—policy of the republican government of, 322—injustice of the charge brought against Humboldt, of giving false representations of, 323—of loans made to the government of, 324—of British loans to, 325—failure of the only American mining experiment in, 326—advantages attending its failure, 327—character of the intercourse between the United States and, and change of feeling in this country in regard to, 328—claims of our government upon, 329—enthusiasm with which the revolution of, was hailed in this country, 330—ecclesiastical establishment of, one cause of that change, 331—effect of the recognition of such an establishment, 332—state of religion in, 333—number and influence of the clergy in, 334—their charitable foundations, 335—their good conduct during the revolution of, 336—prospect of the spiritual emancipation of, and moral condition of the community in, 337—prevailing vices of the people of, 338—of gambling in, 339—of the diplomatic relations of this country with, 340—influence of the British government not the cause of the present state of those relations, 341—course which our government should pursue in regard to, 343.

Milizia, his works on the arts of design, reviewed and quoted, 1 et seq.

Milman, history of the Jews by, reviewed, 234—character of the work, 265.

Mines of Mexico, product of the, before the revolution, 323.

Mining in Mexico, fate of foreign speculations in, 320—absurditv of continuing to prosecute them, 321.

Mint, rules of the, in different countries, as to the expense of coinage, 530.

Mitford, objections to the history of Greece by, 345.

Money, principles of, considered, 526.

Montague, Lady Mary Wortley, remark of, 444—lines of Pope concerning, 445.

Montaigne, quotation from the essays of, 307, *note*—his censure of innovators of the French language, quoted, 312, *note*—his merit as an improver of French

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prose, and his opinion of the language of his age, 314, 315.
Montpensier, Duke of, his narrative of his imprisonment alluded to, and his death, 208.
Morland, history of the Waldensian churches by, quoted, 285.
Moses, book of the law by, how preserved, 103—object of his laws and institutions, 240—his knowledge of the character of the Jews, and anticipation of their fate, 243—excellence of his institutions, 252.

N.

Napoleon, his patronage of literature, 211—his policy in regard to the Jews, 264.
Navigation, the only great branch of national industry to which the principle of protection has not been applied since the war, 141—its progress during that period, 148—its recent depression and present state, 443. (See United States and Great Britain.)
Navigation act, provisions of the British, 425—and opinions of Child and Adam Smith concerning it, 426—that of the United States, 427.
New Bedford, increase of the whale fishery of, 442.
New England, how settled, and for what causes, 183—injustice of the charge of intolerance against the settlers of, 185—of the representations of its character in novels, 518.
New Hampshire, law of, in regard to imprisonment for debt, 495.
Newton, Sir Isaac, his claim to the merit of the discovery of fluxions, 113—his discovery of gravitation alluded to, 475.
Nobility of France, their character before the French Revolution, 199.
Novels, reply to some objections made to, 388—of the excellence of the historical form of, 392—inferiority of the late English, 406—causes of difference of opinion in regard to, 509—of those published in the early part of the present century, 515.
Novelist, qualifications of the, 511—importance of descriptive power to the, 511—of delineation of character by the, 512.

O.

Oberlin, Memoirs of, reviewed, 453—his birth and early education, 455—anecdote concerning, 456—his residence at Waldbach and his marriage, 457—his peculiar mode of courtship, 458—his construction of a highway to Strasburg, 459—his improvement of the state of agriculture at Waldbach, 460—his attention to his people and introduction of infant schools, 461—loss of his wife, 462—account given of him by one of his visitors, 463—his ideas on the morals of politics, 464—extent of his charitable views, 465—his successful exertions to put an end to a law-suit between his people and their feudal Lords, 466—his personal manners, 467—his activity in the discharge of his duties, 468—his sketch of his own character, 469—his death, 470.
Ohio, imprisonment for debt abolished in, 495.
Old Mortality, of the historical details of, 416—remarks upon, 417.
Orleans, Charles d', his character and death, 305.
Orthography, neglect of it by the early French provincial writers, 307.
Oxford University, attention paid to natural science at, 473.

P.

Pamphilian Obelisk, hieroglyphic inscription upon the, 100.
Paper-money, cause of the depreciation of, and manner in which its value may be sustained, 34—effect of its depreciation, 35—rules by which its full exchangeable value may be preserved, 526—reasons why it exchanges for commodities in which labor is realized, 537—its depreciation proportioned to the excess of its issues, 537—effects of indiscreet and excessive issues of, in this country, 540.
Persepolis, character of the sculpture of the ruins of, 7.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Phidias, cause of the banishment of, from Athens, 20.
Phillips's Manual of Political Economy, reviewed, 215—character of the work, 216—quoted, 220, 225.
Physicians, not more interested than others to legalise the study of anatomy, 69—their compensation in Athens, 360—peculiar relation between patients and their, 377.
Pirate, quoted, 516.
Plato, his account of alphabetical writing among the Egyptians, 99.
Playfair, Professor, candor of his investigation of the rival claims of Leibnitz and Newton to the discovery of fluxions, 113.
Pöeme sur Boëce, extract from, 283.
Political Economy, present state of the science of, 216.
Pope, Alexander, his lines on Lady Montague, quoted, 445.
Pope, Charles, merchant's, ship-owner's, and ship-master's import and export guide by, reviewed, 422—its merits, 444.
Precious metals, estimate of the quantity of, at present, 529.
President of the United States, his Message relating to the Bank, 21—propriety of his course, in bringing the subject before the people, 22.
Prison Discipline Society, its object and success, 490—its report quoted, 491 et seq.
Professions, influence of the, upon the character, 367.
Protecting Policy, beneficial, instead of injurious to the cotton-planter, 166—its advantages to every section of the country, 167—mode of attack adopted with respect to the, and how it should be maintained, 174—views of Mr. Phillips in regard to the, 229.
Provençal Language, mentioned, 292 et seq.
Puritans, injustice of Dr. Robertson towards the, 177—real cause of the coming of the, to this country, 178—illiberality of Chalmers in regard to the, 179—influence of the character of the, upon the present generation, 195.

Q.

Quarterly Review, articles upon Guy Mannering and Old Mortality in the, 393.
Quatremère de Quincy, his opinion with respect to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, 9—his attempt to prove that the Coptic versions of the Scriptures are in the language of ancient Egypt, 111.

R.

Rabelais, his style, and opinion of La Harpe concerning it, 313—quotation from, 314.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his observations on the commerce of England, 423—quoted, 424.
Rambaut de Vaqueiras, anecdote concerning, 297, *note*—his *descort*, 297.
Raoul de Soissons mentioned, 301—his merit, 302.
Rasselas, mentioned, 406.
Raynouard, selections from the poetry of the Troubadours by, reviewed, 277.
Reciprocity Convention between the United States and Great Britain, 440.
Renouveau, quoted, 306.
Report of the Prison Discipline Society, extract from, showing the number annually imprisoned, and the effect of the process, 491.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, remark by, upon Raphael's paintings, 412.
Ricardo, plan of paper-money by, alluded to, 541, 545.
Richardson, character of the novels of, 405—his peculiar power, 514.
Robertson, Dr., his merit as a historian, 176—his injustice to the Puritans, 177.
Rob Roy, its peculiar merit and characters, 414.
Roman language, its victory over the Celtic, 278.
Roman Rustic, origin of the, 280—extent to which it prevailed, 281—specimen of it quoted, 282—second specimen, 282—third, 285—change which it underwent in the northern French provinces, 292.
Roman Wallon language, specimen of the, 293.
Romaunt of the Rose, character and specimen of the, 302—Chaucer's translation, quoted, 303—when published, 304.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Romans, their treatment of the Jews, 249.
Rondel, Jean Froissart's, quoted, 304—another, quoted, 306.
Ronsard, his attempt to enrich the French language, 312.
Rosetta Stone, discovery of the, and attempts made to decypher it, 110.
Roscoe, translation of Sismondi by, quoted, 289.
Rousseau, Madame de Genlis's account of, 201—her quarrel with, 203.
Russia, depreciation of currency in, 532.

S.

Sabbathai Sevi, his imposture, 261—and his fate, 262.
Sacred Poetry, excellence of, an evidence of the intellectual cultivation of the Jews during the reign of David, 242.
Sadler, Mr. injustice of the Edinburgh Review towards his work on Political Economy, 219, *note*,
Safety Fund, New York, objections to the principle of the, 548.
Scott, Sir Walter, his reputation, and the moral purity of his works, 387—manner in which his authorship of the Waverley novels was avowed, 389—interest which he has imparted to his own country, 392—his qualifications for writing romances, 396—his good sense, 397—his imagination and style, 398—his education, 399—influence of the time of his youth on his peculiar taste, 400—his early habits, 401—some traits of his character, 402—his poetical works, 403—his superiority to Fielding and Smollett, 404—comparison between him and Richardson, 405—his superiority to the novelists of the day, 420.
Sculpture, best exhibited in modern times in the monuments of great men, 5.
Sedgewick, Adam, his address, quoted, 484.
Senior's lectures alluded to, 529.
Shipping of Great Britain and the United States, 148 et seq.—422 et seq.
Silliman, Professor, his zeal and activity in the cause of science, 481.
Smith, A. character of his Wealth of Nations, 216—influence of the spirit of his age upon, 220—objection to the tone of his great work, 230—inquiry into the truth of his principle, that individuals, if left to themselves, will give their labor the direction most beneficial to the public, 231—his opinion of the British navigation act, 426.
Smith, Gen. his report on the Bank of the United States, 524.
Smollett, his plan of making Scotland the scene of his novels, mentioned, 404—his peculiar merit, 514.
Socrates, income of, 359.
Staël, Madame de, her want of personal beauty, 449.
Standard of Value, how fixed, 25—necessity of uniformity in the, 25—provisions of the Constitution of the United States in regard to the, 26—no invariable, to be found, 526—on what principles a selection of, should be made, 527—difficulty of making two metals indifferently the, 530.
Statuary, causes of its perfection in Greece, 3—reduced in modern times to a mechanical art, 5—the original materials used for, 15—its excellence in Italy, 16—effect of polical liberty upon its cultivation, 17.
Statues of Washington, by Chantrey and Canova, 2—reasons why they are not likely to be properly estimated by the present generation, 3.
Stevens, Miss, her remedy for the stone, 373.
Storch, course of political economy by, quoted 528—his account of the calamities arising from *assignats*, quoted, 538.
Stouber, M. his residence and benevolent exertions at Waldbach, 454, 455.
St. Bernard, extract from the sermons of, 295.
St. Paul, his imagery borrowed from the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks, 14.
Stuart's translation of Greppo's Essay on the Hieroglyphic System, 95—merit of the translation and notes, 96.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday Schools, first introduction of, 462, *note*.
Sylvestre de Sacy, his attempt to decypher the enchorial inscription on the Rosetta Stone, 112.
Syncellus, his chronicle, 106.

T.

Tacitus, quotation from, respecting the expedition of Germanicus into Egypt, 126.
Tales of My Landlord, remarks upon, 414 et seq.
Talleyrand, letter of, to Madame de Genlis, 210.
Ten Tribes, obscurity in regard to their history, after the captivity, 244.
Thibault, merit of the poetry of, 301.
Troubadours, selections from the poems of the, reviewed, 277—influence of the, upon the Roman Rustic, 282—extract from the poetry of one of the, 289—*descort* of Rambaut de Vaqueiras, one of the, quoted, 298—popularity of the, 301.
Tudesque language, how supplanted by the Roman Rustic, 281.

U.

United States, state of their navigation since the war, 145 et seq—their navigation law, 427—state of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the, 433.

V.

Vaudevilles, by whom invented, and when, 305.
Velleius Paterculus, quoted, 278, *note*.
Vicar of Wakefield, mentioned, 406.
Ville-Hardouin, extract from the writings of, 296.
Villon, lines of Boileau respecting, quoted, 309.
Virginia, manner in which it was settled, 181.
Voltaire, his interview with Madame de Genlis, 204—his *Discours aux Velches*, quoted, 316.

W.

Waldbach, its situation and climate, 453.
Waldensians, writings of the, 284—article of their ancient discipline, quoted, 285—their Noble Lesson, quoted, 287.
Walker, Helen, the real heroine of the Heart of Mid-Lothian, 418.
Ward, Mr., object of his work on Mexico, and his estimate of the amount of British capital invested in the mines, 321.
Water-Witch, Mr. Cooper's, reviewed, 508—short notice of the, 523.
Waverley, remarks upon its characters, 408—manner in which it was written, 409—its success, 410.
Waverley Novels, revised edition of the, reviewed, 386—lasting popularity of the, 386—to be considered as poems, 389—notice of criticisms upon the, 389—of objections to their historical form, 391—that they want a consistent story, refuted, 393—that the heroes are uninteresting, 394—that there is a sameness in the characters, 395—and that they make us indifferent to real history, shown to be erroneous, 396—revised edition of the, 407—of Waverley, 408—of Guy Mannering, 410—of the Antiquary, 411—of Rob Roy, 413—of the Tales of My Landlord, 414—the Black Dwarf, 415—Old Mortality, 416—the Heart of Mid-Lothian, 418—of the prints attached to this edition of the, 421.
Wealth, Mr. Phillips's ideas upon, 220—error of his view, 221—correctness of his ideas with respect to its distribution, 225.
Webster, Mr., allusion to his Plymouth address, 193—his letter in regard to imprisonment for debt, 497—his plan of abolition objected to, 504 et seq.
Werner, allusion to, 487.
Whale fishery, its extent and increase in this country, 441—decline of the English, 442.
Williams, Roger, his character, 187.
William the Conqueror, extract from the laws of, 293.

Y.

Young, Dr. his remarks on Heyne's translation of the inscription on the Rosetta Stone, 110—partial success of his attempts to decypher it, 112—controversy between him and Champollion, 113.

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